THE Lutheran Quarterly

ume XI NOVEMBER, 1959 Number 4

Office of Publication, 18 Carlisle Street, Gettysburg, Pa. Entered at the Post Office at Gettysburg, Pa., as second-class matter under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published quarterly by the Editorial Council of Lutheran Theological Seminaries and continuing *The Lutheran Quarterly*, founded in Gettysburg as *The Evangelical Review* in 1849, *The Lutheran Church Review*, founded in Philadelphia in 1882, *The Lutheran Church Quarterly*, Philadelphia and Gettysburg since 1928, and *The Augustana Quarterly*, Rock Island, Illinois, since 1922.

Printed by the Times and News Publishing Company, Gettysburg, Pa.

Manuscripts should be addressed to the Editor, books for review to the Book Editor, subscriptions to the Circulation Manager.

Subscription $2.75 a year in advance; single copies 75 cents.

Editor
THEODORE G. TAPPERT
7333 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania

Managing Editor
A. J. ENGELBRECHT
1250 Nowata St., Dubuque, Iowa

Book Review
ARNOLD E. CARLSON
Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois

Circulation Manager
LOWELL J. SATRE
Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul 8, Minnesota

EDITORIAL COUNCIL

Representatives of

Lutheran Theological Seminary
Gettysburg, Pa.

Lutheran Theological Seminary
Philadelphia, Pa.

Augustana Theological Seminary
Rock Island, Ill.

Capital University Theological Seminary
Columbus, Ohio

Wartburg Theological Seminary
Dubuque, Iowa

Luther Theological Seminary
St. Paul, Minn.

Augsburg Seminary
Minneapolis, Minn.

Central Seminary
Fremont, Neb.

Chicago Lutheran Seminary
Maywood, Ill.

Evangelical Lutheran Seminary of Canada
Waterloo, Ont.

Grandview Seminary
Des Moines, Iowa

Hamma Divinity School
Springfield, Ohio

Lutheran Seminary
Saskatoon, Sask.

Northwestern Lutheran Seminary
Minneapolis, Minn.

Southern Lutheran Seminary
Columbia, S. C.

Suomi Seminary
Maywood, Ill.

Trinity Seminary
Dubuque, Iowa

Pacific Lutheran Seminary
Berkeley, Calif.

AIMS AND POLICY

I. *Aim:* The aim of this quarterly shall be to provide a forum (1) for the discussion of Christian faith and life on the basis of the Lutheran confession, (2) for the application of the principles of the Lutheran Church to the changing problems of religion and society, (3) for the fostering of world Lutheranism, and (4) for the promotion of understanding between Lutherans and other Christians.

II. *Policy:* The editors will welcome contributions that are likely to be helpful in the furtherance of the aims set forth above. It will be required of such contributions that they be frank and fair in their discussion of moot questions; that they be free from controversial animus; and that their contents be of real scholarly and practical value to the readers. Difference of opinion between contributors, or between a contributor and the editors, does not of itself exclude articles from publication since the editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions of contributors.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

Volume XI November, 1959 Number 4

CONTENTS

WORSHIP, LITURGY, AND MUSIC ..... *Robert E. Bornemann* 275

HISTORY AND THE FREQUENCY OF COMMUNION ..... *Theodore G. Tappert* 286

PREACHING AND THE SACRAMENT ..... *Manfred Metzger* 298

TRAVELS IN PERSIAN KURDISTAN ..... Ed. and trans. by *Matthew I. Wiencke* 307

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Laymon, *Christ in the New Testament* (Harry J. Mumm) 336
Leaney, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke* (Ronald M. Hals) 337
Beach, *The Gospel of Mark, Its Making and Meaning* (Robert A. Bartels) 337
Perry, *The Gospel in Dispute: The Relation of Christian Faith to Other Missionary Religions* (James A. Scherer) 338
Ross, *Africa Disturbed* (Oscar R. Rolander) 341
Miller and others, *What Is the Nature of Man? Images of Man in Our American Culture* (Carl Fjellman) 342
Niebuhr, *Essays in Applied Christianity* (Harold H. Ditmanson) 343
Wingren, *Theology in Conflict* (Arnold E. Carlson) 343
Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* (Theodore G. Tappert) 345
Marty, *A Short History of Christianity* (Theodore G. Tappert) 345
Tappert & Doberstein, ed.-tr., *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Dorris A. Flesner) 346
Winehouse, *The Assemblies of God. A Popular Survey* (T. G. Tappert) 347
Miller, *Invitation to Theology: Resources for Christian Nurture and Discipline* (L. Dale Lund) 347
Thurian, *Confession* and *Marriage and Celibacy* (William H. Lazarus) 348
Hershey, *Think About These Things* (Edmund A. Steimle) 349
Hanson, *Through Temptation* (Edmund A. Steimle) 350
Buszin, ed., *Response* (Joel W. Lundeen) 351
Williams, *What Present-Day Theologians are Thinking* (A. E. Carlson) 351
Gremmels, *Unity Begins with You. Prevue of The American Lutheran Church* 352

INDEX TO VOLUME XI iii

CONTRIBUTORS

Robert E. Bornemann is assistant professor of the Old Testament in the Lutheran Seminary at Philadelphia, where he is also director of the seminary choir.

Manfred Metzger is professor of Practical Theology in Berlin, and his translator is professor of Practical Theology in the Philadelphia Seminary.

Matthew I. Wiencke is assistant professor of Classical Literature and Art in Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.

Reviewers of books include Harry J. Mumm, professor of the New Testament in Pacific Lutheran Seminary, Berkeley, Calif.; Ronald M. Hals, professor of the New Testament in Capital University Seminary, Columbus, Ohio; Robert A. Bartels, professor of the New Testament in Northwestern Seminary, Minneapolis; James A. Scherer, dean of the School of Missions, Maywood, Ill.; Carl Fjellman, dean of Upsala College, East Orange, N. J.; Dorris A. Flesner, professor of Church History in Northwestern Seminary; L. Dale Lund, president of Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan.; William H. Lazareth, assistant professor of Systematic Theology in the Philadelphia Seminary; Edmund A. Steimle, professor of Homiletics in the same; Joel W. Lundeen, director of the Library, Augustana Seminary, Rock Island, Ill.

It is with profound regret that notice must here be taken of the death in September, after being stricken with poliomyelitis, of the managing editor of the Quarterly. August Engelbrecht had returned only a year ago from a two-year leave of absence which he spent in European study to increase his usefulness as professor of the Old Testament in Wartburg Theological Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa. He was a good friend and a faithful colleague whose loss to the church and to theological education and literature is mourned by the remaining members of the editorial staff and by the editorial council of the Quarterly.

Worship, Liturgy, and Music

By Robert E. Bornemann

THE nature of corporate worship is extremely complex, involving many emphases and interests. In worship the community assembles to hear the Word of God, to receive the sacraments, to join in corporate prayer, and to give God praise and thanks. The motivations for worship are as varied as the emphases in worship: obedience to our Lord's command, the desire to learn, a spirit of reverence and awe, a compulsion to offer thanksgiving to God. Moreover, worship is an all-embracing act, involving not just the intellect but the whole person, not just the individual but the community. Consequently it makes wide use of art, music, architecture, liturgies, ceremonies, and symbols. How all these factors are related and what importance they are given depends largely upon individual points of view and concerns. The result is that worship displays great variety. Such variety is to be expected because of the very complexity of worship, and, indeed, in itself it is not to be despised.

At the same time, as this variety comes to actual expression in the life of the church, one is confronted with the question of authority and criteria. An examination of our practices shows that in ordering the forms and details of worship appeals are variously made to the many and differing traditions and customs of the church, to theology, to the Bible, to liturgical principles, to good taste, to aesthetic laws, to psychology, and so on. Because there is no clear understanding as to how all these competing authorities are related, the question persists: How do we determine our practices in worship? On what basis does now one criterion prevail and now another? On what basis do we accept the authority of aesthetics here, but reject it there? or admit the authority of this tradition while denying the authority of that one?

The problem is complicated because all these various authorities have a legitimate claim inasmuch as they are all involved in worship. The problem is not solved, however, by giving precedence to any one of them. If, for example, tradition is made determinative, there is not

only the question of which tradition; there is also the danger of archaism and irrelevance. If the Bible is made the authority, then there is the question whether it is valid to impose upon Christian worship the cultic ideals of ancient Judaism, and the double problem whether we can actually discover the character of primitive Christian worship in any detail, and, even if we could, whether this is any more determinative for us than the exegetical method of the New Testament writers. Nor is the situation eased by saying that no one of these many criteria actually prevails, but that they all interact upon themselves, and so achieve some kind of "balance of power" among themselves; this would mean that ultimately there is no real direction, no real unity within worship. The question of criteria still remains.

It becomes clear, then, that we must look for some other norm by which to determine the varied aspects of worship and to control the competing, often conflicting, authorities. This norm, however, is not another principle, but an action, namely, what actually takes place in the cultic moment. Christian worship is by nature an event; it is the interaction of God and community, an actual meeting of personalities. In worship God comes to his people and addresses them, revealing himself and proclaiming his will and love. To this action of God the community reacts, responding to him. The center of worship, then, is the Word of God, not in the sense of a written book or a theological datum, but in the sense of personality. The Word is God's self-communication, Jesus Christ, the Word incarnate. Consequently worship has always an active and personal character. It is always a matter of encounter, of address and response; it is dialogue. The Christian community does not gather primarily to reflect upon the love of God, but to be confronted by it. It does not gather primarily to remember the Word of God, but to be met by him.

It is this Word, necessarily involving an interaction between God and community, which is central to all parts of worship and which is determinative in ordering the form and details of worship. Most briefly defined, Christian worship is an event centering in the Word of God; it is the community's joyous expression and confession of faith in the God who comes to his people. What this understanding of worship involves and a few concrete examples of what it implies for liturgy and music are suggested in the following.

Worship and Liturgy

The Action of God. Worship begins and centers in the coming of God to be present with his people. The initiative is God's, and his active presence is controlling throughout. This emphasis is frequently minimized or taken for granted. While studies in worship all begin with the motif of God's command and speak of the presence of God throughout worship, these elements are generally treated as only introductory and preliminary to the consideration of the details of worship, so that despite "sacramental" emphases God is present primarily as the passive object of worship. But God's presence is more than a necessary presupposition of worship, more than a part of the "setting" before which the congregation bows in adoration and lifts its voice in praise and thanksgiving. The action of the congregation is not done in remembrance of things past, but in response to the contemporaneous address of God. Hence the liturgy, although formal and written, is throughout a matter of address and response, a dialogue. This is understood to be more than simply a matter of God's addressing men through the lessons, for example, to which address the congregation responds with the *Laus tibi.* Rather, the structure of the liturgy itself is a proclamation of the Gospel, and so a means through which God addresses us.

Without suggesting that it is necessarily the ideal form, the historic liturgy of the Western church displays in its outline this proclamation. At the very beginning the *Kyrie eleison* sets forth the need of man and his dependence upon God: "Lord, have mercy." The *Gloria in excelsis* which follows immediately is a development of the song the angels sang at our Lord's birth. This is God's answer to man's need, the gift of his Son, in whom there is forgiveness and newness of life. In the lessons God speaks through the words of the Scriptures, even as Christ spoke to the multitudes. The Creed is a recital of God's activity and a summation of the response to God's Word. It is as if having heard and beheld the Word we stand with Peter and the disciples at Caesarea Philippi and hear the question, "Whom do you say I am?" and confess with Peter, "I believe that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." With the sermon the address of God with all its implications is continued, just as Christ spoke ever more fully and earnestly as the time drew near when he must go up to Jerusalem. In the *Sanctus* we behold the procession into the city: "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of

the Lord. Hosanna in the highest!" In the words of institution—a proclamation and not a prayer—our Lord proclaims his death, and in the administration of the sacrament he speaks again the forgiveness and life which the Gospel always brings, giving to all the peace of God, fullness of life through the love of God.

The liturgy is itself a recital of the Gospel, and it is in this sense that the liturgy as a whole is primarily God's addressing the community. The congregation participates in this recital, but this participation is not to be understood in terms of a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; it involves praise and thanksgiving, but it is essentially a joyous confession of faith in the God whom the congregation meets in this recital. To call this a sacrifice or to speak of the liturgy as a eucharistic sacrifice is perhaps ultimately only to play with words; for this participation is not something the congregation brings and offers, but it is rather a spontaneous response to a person. Seen thus in the light of the active presence of God who addresses his people, this is really no more sacrifice than is faith a good work! Where the emphasis in liturgy is set on what we bring to God, we obscure the dynamic character of worship as a meeting of God and community in which God takes the initiative throughout.

The primacy of God's activity in worship is seen also in the sermon. Here, perhaps most clearly because it is most articulate, the address of God is heard. The sermon is the proclamation of the Gospel, God's self-revealing, redeeming action. This Word which is proclaimed is not a passive object upon which the preacher may practice his art; it is rather an active subject which confronts the hearer with its demands and its love. So it is that in the sermon, despite both the failings and the skills of the preacher, it is God himself speaking, revealing himself in his love and redeeming activity. When the significance of this element in worship is reduced or not fully realized, we not only do violence to what is involved in worship, but we run the risk of idolatry, substituting for the address of God the creations and actions of men.

The Response of Man. Worship, centering throughout in the action of God, involves also the reaction of the community. This reaction is the community's joyous expression and confession of faith. It is the spontaneous joy and thanksgiving of believers who know and experience the love of God in Christ, and who respond to his presence in praise, adoration, prayer, and confession.

This is to say, first of all, that worship is expressive rather than impressive, that it has the spontaneity of dialogue between two personalities. It is essentially a response to a person, a spontaneous overflowing of joy prompted by the actual meeting of God with his community. It is an expression of faith in terms of thanksgiving and praise. The community's response is also a joyous confession of faith in the God whom it meets in worship. This confession of faith is much more than the recitation of the Creeds. It involves the joyous affirmation of the Gospel as it is proclaimed within the whole structure of the liturgy. The very participation in the liturgy, the singing of hymns and chants, the prayers of the congregation—all these are a spontaneous, joyful confession of faith in the God who stands in their presence, and who through these very forms speaks to them. Adoration, praise, thanksgiving, prayer, and confession are essential aspects of the community's response to Christ within the context of worship. They all can be summed up in the word "faith"—the joyous, thankful reception of God's Word.

If it is correct to describe the community's response in worship as the expression and confession of faith, then all the forms and parts of worship must be consonant with this faith. There are serious problems here. Our liturgical forms and practices, for example, are largely borrowed and inherited, and the traditions which have made their contributions have not always been representative of evangelical faith. So the practices of Judaism influenced the basic development of worship; the medieval Mass with its notions of sacrifice and with all the ceremonies attendant on this interpretation of the sacrament provides the very structure of our liturgy; present-day emphases and interests, some quite secular, increasingly affect both the form and content of worship. Many varying traditions from all ages of the church can be found in our usage, and with this there is nothing wrong; we ought not despise our heritage. At the same time the rightness and goodness of these forms and observances in worship are not assured by their antiquity, their appeal, or their own intrinsic rightness and goodness —not even if Luther used them, not even if they can be traced to the ancient church and the Scriptures.

Something more than the principles of liturgics, aesthetics, traditions, or modernity is involved here. Whatever is done in worship must be consonant with the action of worship and with the faith which is

confessed in this action. In other words, liturgical forms, hymns, chants, ceremonies, and practices are all a matter of theological concern. There are forms and practices which are obviously at variance with evangelical faith; here there is little difficulty because the case is clean-cut. More difficult and dangerous, however, is the case of those forms and practices which in themselves may be quite innocent, but which are ambiguous—either because of their associations, or because their function is unclear—and so can lead to misunderstanding and even falsification of faith. This danger is most noticeable today in connection with Holy Communion, where additions and omissions are made to the liturgy itself, and practices are associated with it which are neither in accord with an evangelical understanding of the sacrament, nor in accord with the action of worship itself. Whatever is done in worship is to be consonant with the faith which comes to expression in worship.

It is, however, not enough to require that the forms of worship be consonant with faith; they must also be adequate for the expression of faith within the action of worship. This is an even more serious problem. In recent years, for example, the question of language and style in worship has been much debated. Which translation of the Bible shall be read, the King James version or the Revised Standard? Unfortunately, much of the argument has been carried out on purely aesthetic grounds—a legitimate consideration but, in view of the nature of worship, ultimately irrelevant. Another example of the problem is the collect. Worship requires the participation of the congregation, but the collects in their traditional form, despite their succinctness and their undeniable beauty of language, are at best remote from the life and experience of the congregation, and at worst sometimes questionable in their theology and ultimately irrevelant because they are meaningless to the people. What then is their function? If it is to maintain a tradition, then it is only antiquarian; if it is a legitimate element in worship, then it should be in a form adequate for what is involved in worship. Still another example is our heritage in the historic series of epistles and gospels. Some of these lections have their origin in the ancient *lectio continua,* no longer employed by us. Others were chosen because they were appropriate to special emphases and observances either no longer made or specifically rejected by evangelical faith. In still other passages the interpretations which prompted their choice are now quite untenable in view of modern biblical exegesis.

One must ask, then, whether these traditional lections are really adequate for the expression of evangelical faith within the context of worship. Similar difficulties obtain in the choice of lessons for the new Old Testament lectionary.

All this is not to advocate playing fast and easy with our traditions, nor is it to suggest that language and forms be cheap and novel. It is, however, to emphasize the need for real creativity in liturgy and forms so that these may be adequate for the expression and confession of faith. It may well be that the traditional forms offer the most; but this conclusion cannot be made on the basis of their antiquity, their universality, or their aesthetic and liturgical correctness. The decision can only be made on the basis of the nature of worship itself, whether through these forms the dialogue between God and community is realized.

The Community. The definition of worship presented here suggests one further consideration. Worship places the emphasis upon the community. The congregation is more than a group of individuals, an aggregation; it sings and prays as a unity, a community in Christ. Emphasis upon the community, however, does not mean that the identity of the individual is lost or submerged in this unity. In characteristic fashion Luther describes the relationship between the two: "These are the two priestly offices, viz., to hear God speak and to speak to God who hears us. Through the benediction, through the sermon and the distribution of the holy sacraments, God comes down to us and talks with me. There I listen to him, and again I go up to him and speak in the ears of God who hears my prayer."[1] The point is that even while God addresses the individual, within worship it is always in the context of the community, and the individual's response to God is made within this same unity of the congregation.

Since worship is this interaction of God and the community, then all the forms employed in worship must enable this community to come into being and to express itself. Negatively this means the rejection of subjectivism (in which the emotions of one are imposed upon all) as well as individualism (in which attention is focused on one to the exclusion of the others). In both cases true community is disturbed and prevented. Positively the emphasis upon community means that worship has an objective character, which objectivity is not to be

1 Quoted in L. D. Reed, *The Lutheran Liturgy* (Philadelphia, 1947), p. 8.

confused with coldness or indifference. This requirement of objectivity leads to the creation of liturgy, orders, and ceremonies. These are objective forms of worship that aim to provide the framework in which the action and reaction inherent in the meeting of God and community may take place. They must ensure the dialogue character of worship, allowing for the fullest expression both of God's address and the community's response.

This immediately calls into question forms and ceremonies that obscure the action of God and exclude or hinder full congregational participation. A case in point is the increasing tendency to administer the sacrament of Baptism apart from the regular worship of the congregation. Baptism, however, is not a private affair between God and the child; it involves the whole community, not as spectators but as actual participants, and so belongs to public worship as much as the Sacrament of the Altar. But it is objected that the orders for Baptism do not provide for such congregational participation. Unfortunately the objection is valid. But since Baptism is the active concern of the whole community, then rather than suit the practice to an inadequate form, a form which provides for the community's participation should be created. The formal character of worship is dictated by the emphasis on community; the forms of worship must safeguard this community, so that the address of God and the response of the congregation may come to fullest expression.

These are some of the implications of understanding worship in terms of the Word of God: the Word who confronts men with his love; the Word to whom the community, created by this same Word, responds with joyous faith. The questions which have been asked, and they could be greatly multiplied, have not grown out of a spirit of iconoclasm or anti-traditionalism, but out of a deep concern that the forms of worship actually correspond to what happens within worship. But just as this understanding of worship affects the liturgy and its attendant forms and practices, so it affects all the auxiliaries employed in worship. These, too, must be re-examined in the light of the nature of worship. How music is affected is here very briefly suggested.

Worship and Music

Music has a legitimate, even essential, part in worship, but within the context of worship it must be consonant with the nature of worship.

This means, first of all, that music in worship is *functional.* It is completely subservient to the words and the action of worship, be it the chants of the liturgy, the hymns, or whatever. Music in worship is only a means to the realization and expression of what is involved in the experience of worship. Its function is to aid in the expression of the Gospel and Christian faith, and not to impress the listener with a sense of beauty and magnificence, a vague sense of awe before art and beauty which is often mistakenly identified with worship. This, however, is only emotion without direction; a symphony concert or a walk through the woods would serve as well, and perhaps even better! Music in worship is to be transparent to the Gospel, a vehicle for the Word. It is to make clear and alive the proclamation and the community's response to it. Where music does not accomplish this, but becomes self-conscious, it fails in its function, and this gift of God, like so many others, takes on a demonic character and becomes a form of idolatry.

Rather, music should be consonant with the expression and confession of faith. It should be concerned with the integrity of the text and in its style and mode reflect the spirit of evangelical faith. This is not to suggest that there is music which is in itself Lutheran, or Reformed, or Roman Catholic. It does suggest, however, that there are styles and modes of music which are more fitting than others for the action of worship. One questions, for example, whether the jangling rhythms and banal melodies of much modern popular music would be appropriate for the expression of evangelical worship. One must also question the appropriateness of Gregorian chant with its exquisite beauty but essentially otherworldly character which reflects an understanding of God and of worship quite different in direction and mood from an evangelical conception.

Music in worship must also be *congregational.* As worship involves the whole community, so music in worship should be so constructed as to permit the greatest possible participation of the congregation. The practice of giving more and more of the liturgical responses to the choir and otherwise adding to the amount of materials performed by the choir alone is to be deplored. Worship by nature has the character of dialogue, and this dialogue is between God and his people, and not between God and the choir.

More concretely, the primary concern of music in worship is with the liturgy. Both in composition and in performance music is to be a

fit vehicle for the liturgical texts and an adequate means for congregational participation. Closely related to this is the field of hymnody. Together these two, liturgy and hymnody, form the true and primary concerns of music in worship. It is ironic that for most choirs they are given least attention!

Anthems and solos are another kind of music used in worship. For the most part they serve no function within the action of worship, and of course offer no congregational participation. In short, they fail in both essential requirements for music in worship. Some have even suggested, and perhaps rightly, that anthems be ruled out altogether. On the other hand, it may be that they do serve a legitimate function within the action of worship. If so, then they will have a text which is appropriate to the function and which is properly treated so as to be communicated. The style will also conform to its function.

It should be noted in this connection that classical music is not necessarily suited to worship. The name of a famous composer—even the name of Bach—does not mean that it is music appropriate to worship. Indeed, the great musical classics, such as the cantatas of Bach and Buxtehude, the oratorios of Handel and Mendelssohn, the religious works of masters such as Mozart, Rossini, and Schütz, have no place in worship. By the nature of their music, by the treatment of their texts, by their length and conception, they do not fit the context of worship. They, like many anthems, belong rather to the category of sacred concerts or, more accurately, programs of music with sacred subjects.

Much more could be said on all these subjects, but these observations are sufficient to indicate how the understanding of worship affects not only the structure of liturgy, but also the character of all the arts and means employed in worship. They are also sufficient to suggest the converse, that the forms and practices employed in worship imply and lead to a particular understanding of worship not always consonant with evangelical faith. Consequently in determining the forms and practices of worship one cannot begin with the forms and practices with their traditions and laws, but one must begin with an understanding of what worship is. In evangelical Christianity the Word of God is central to Christian life and experience; this same Word is central and controlling in Christian worship. Because of the nature of this Word, worship is essentially event and dialogue in which the com-

munity responds in a joyous expression and confession of faith to the coming and address of God. The liturgy and all its auxiliaries are only the framework within which this event takes place. The determinative factor in the character and development of this framework is always the Word of God, and the interaction of God and community which the Word creates.

History and the Frequency of Communion

By Theodore G. Tappert

IT IS of course always a good thing to reappraise inherited customs and to inquire whether they are still suited to the performance of their function in our time and circumstances. Such re-examination is not only good but necessary whenever it is ingenuously assumed that the way we do things in the church today is the way in which they must always have been done since apostolic days or, to turn the matter about, that the propriety of our practices today can be justified only by the precedents of an earlier day, whether this be the age of the apostles (in the manner, let us say, of Fundamentalists) or some later age (in the manner, let us say, of Anglo-Catholics). Whether one takes such a position of subservience to human or ecclesiastical tradition, or takes the more characteristically Lutheran position of respect for tradition without being bound by it, there should be more than casual interest in the help that history affords.

Few matters affecting the internal life of the church have been agitated so much in recent years as the question of frequency of communion. Seldom, moreover, has such an important matter been discussed with such glib and untroubled appeals to tradition. Yet no real attempt appears to have been made to furnish a full account of the history of the alleged tradition. Until such an account is forthcoming, the following sketch may render some service by suggesting at least the major trends and directions. It makes no claim to completeness; it concerns itself especially with those parts of the church which are of more immediate interest to the current discussion among Lutherans. Even within these limitations it should become evident that, in the case of frequency of communion as elsewhere, every custom began as an innovation.

When we turn to the New Testament for information on the sacramental practice of the primitive church, we must recognize that only incidental allusions are available to us. If it had not been for troubles in the church at Corinth, we would not even have the im-

portant account which St. Paul gives us in I Cor. 11. Elsewhere there are indications of a weekly observance of the Lord's Supper (Acts 20:7) and perhaps even of a daily observance (Acts 2:46). It is not clear, however, whether "breaking bread" always referred to the "eucharist" or whether it referred to the "agape" or even to ordinary meals which Christians ate in their homes. Nor can we know what practice was observed "everywhere, always, and by all people," to employ the later phrase of Vincent of Lerins. The literature of the New Testament was not written with the intention of recording such information; nor was most of the later literature. Nevertheless, it can be said with assurance that, unlike the Jewish Passover which was observed only once a year, the Lord's Supper was celebrated again and again in the course of a year,[1] and it may well have been observed weekly (in connection with a meal?) in most if not in all communities of Christians.

There is evidence that this custom continued into the second and third centuries. Moreover, now as before, there is every reason to believe that all who were present communed at every observance of the Lord's Supper.[2] The *Didache,* dating from about the middle of the second century, exhorts Christians, "On every Lord's Day, . . . come together and break bread and give thanks." It appears that this observance was still associated with a meal.[3] But the celebration was already undergoing a change. Not only was the "eucharist" being separated from the "agape," but its administration was being placed more and more exclusively into the hands of a special class of ministers, and notions of offering a sacrifice to God were increasingly associated with the sacrament. Such changes may be accounted for by a variety of factors: adjustment to a postponed parousia, the effects of persecution, the introduction into the church of conceptions borrowed from the non-Christian environment, the development of organization.

By the fourth century the frequency of communion declined sharply. This was undoubtedly due to the great influx of new converts, many of them nominal, into the church. Emphasis which was now placed on the deity of Christ as a result of the Arian controversy may

1 Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus* (Oxford, 1955), p. 37.

2 Cf. Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy,* 2nd ed. (Westminster, 1946), pp. 59, 60, 62, 130, 153.

3 *Didache,* chap. 14; cf. also chap. 9, 10.

also have made approach to the sacrament more awesome.[4] Besides, further development of the earlier tendency to make of the Lord's Supper a cultic act in which the particular words which a priest spoke over the elements were supposed to transmute them must likewise have contributed to the decline. Not that the decline was uniform, for custom varied. Augustine reported that by his time the frequency of both public observance and individual reception was "different in different places and countries." "In regard to these and all other variable observances which may be met anywhere, one is at liberty to comply with them or not as one chooses. There is no better rule in this matter for the wise and serious Christian than to conform with the practice which he finds prevailing in the church to which it may be his lot to come. For such a custom, if it is clearly not contrary either to the faith or to sound morality, is to be regarded as a thing indifferent and ought to be adhered to for the sake of fellowship with those among whom we live."[5]

Although up to the fourth century it had remained customary for all baptized Christians (who had not been excommunicated) to receive the sacrament together whenever it was administered, many people now left the assemblies without communing. What had before been a corporate act, in which all participated by eating and drinking, now progressively became an act performed by a priest in behalf of the people. By the end of the sixth century Masses (as they had now for some time come to be called) were said for special intentions: to avert calamity, pestilence, drought, floods, and storms, then also to secure success in ventures involving love or war, business or travel.[6] It was only a short distance from such votive Masses—and to these requiem Masses were added for souls in purgatory—to a quantitative conception according to which more evil could be averted or more blessing could be secured by having more and more Masses said.

So the number of Masses piled up—and the frequency of communion declined, for actual participation in and even attendance at such Masses was regarded as less important than the priestly performance. This attitude resulted not only from the interpretation of the sacrament

4 Cf. Michael Buchberger, ed., *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche,* 2nd ed., Vol. VI (Freiburg im Br., 1934), p. 105.

5 Augustine, *Epistles,* liv, chap. 2.

6 Cf. Adolph Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg im Br., 1902), pp. 115-330.

is a sacrifice which a priest offered to God for the sins of the people but also from the reverence and adoration with which the people were taught to look upon the bread and wine. Strict rules concerning fasting before Communion to avoid "desecration of the body of Christ," including accidental breaking of fasts, made access to the sacrament more difficult.[7] (Such rules were an innovation connected with the emerging notion of transubstantiation, for when the "agape" had been joined with the "eucharist" fasting before communion was of course unknown.[8]) Communion by men who had had nocturnal emissions during the previous night, by women who were menstruating, or by husbands and wives who had engaged in sexual intercourse was likewise frowned upon and even forbidden.[9] To arrest the tendency on the part of the people to avoid communion altogether the Council of Agde (A.D. 506) required that people should commune at least three times a year, at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.[10] At the beginning of the eighth century the Venerable Bede reported that in England the most pious laymen received the sacrament only at Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter.[11] By 1215 the Fourth Lateran Council made mandatory what had become more or less customary: the minimum requirement of reception of Communion once a year, at Easter.[12] In monasteries more frequent Communion was expected of people who were regarded as especially pious. Bonaventure reluctantly allowed monks to commune weekly, but nuns, as weaker vessels, were permitted to commune only five or six times a year.[13]

An attempt to explain the developments which have just been described was made by Bonaventure in the thirteenth century. In the primitive church the sacrament had been received often, he wrote, "because Christians were clean in their baptismal innocence and glowing with love through the gifts of the Spirit. . . . When in many love

7 Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica,* Part III, qu. lxxx, art. 8.

8 Cf. William Smith and Samuel Cheetham, *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities,* 2 vols. (London, 1876), I, p. 417.

9 Cf., for example, Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation,* chap. XXVII.

10 Canons given in Petrus Browe, ed., *De frequenti communione in ecclesia occidentali usque ad annum c. 1000: documenta varia* (Rome, 1932), p. 64.

11 Bede, Epistle to Egbert, archbishop of York, in Browe, *op. cit.,* pp. 38, 39.

12 Heinrich Denzinger, ed., *The Sources of Catholic Dogma,* translated by R. J. Deferrari (St. Louis, 1957), p. 173; cf. Council of Trent, Session XIII, canon 9 (*ibid.,* p. 271).

13 Buchberger, *op. cit.,* pp. 105, 106; cf. Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body* (Minneapolis, 1959), pp. 64-67.

grew cold and the baptismal purity was lost through sin, it was left to the decision and conscience of each person that he should receive communion when he regarded himself as rightly disposed. . . . And because many began to become negligent, it was necessary that frequency be re-established by the supreme pontiff. However, since many communicated frequently without preparing themselves well, Fabian established the custom [at the Synod of Tours in the year 813?] that people should commune on the three annual festivals on which they might be better prepared, . . . namely, at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. And because, as time passed, people still prepared themselves carelessly at these three times, this was at last reduced to the Easter communion. . . . If therefore anybody inquires whether he ought to commune frequently, it should be said that if he sees himself to be in the condition of the primitive church, it is praiseworthy that he commune daily; if in the condition of the church as it came to be—that is, cold and sluggish—that he commune rarely."[14] Thomas Aquinas also accounted for the change which had taken place by referring to a gradual relaxation in "the fervor of faith" and by describing his own time (the thirteenth century) as a time "when iniquity abounded and charity grew cold."[15] But we have observed that other factors also played a part, notably changes in the understanding of the nature of the sacrament itself.

Exceptional in the late Middle Ages and regarded with suspicion was the encouragement of daily communion among followers of the heretic John Hus. Later, however, there was encouragement of more frequent communion in the Roman Catholic Church, partly as a reaction to Protestant practice and partly in opposition to the Jansenists of the seventeenth century. Jesuits and the new cult of the Sacred Heart of Jesus were especially influential in promoting greater frequency. In 1679 Pope Innocent XI declared that although daily communion was not obligatory, yet "daily and frequent use" was allowed. Married persons, however, should limit frequency of communion when they cohabit often, and frequent reception should be encouraged among such nuns only as "are distinguished by purity of mind and are so enkindled by

14 Bonaventure, *Commentary on the Sentences*, IV, d. 12, II, a.2, q.2, quoted in Browe, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50; there is a translation in Darwell Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2 vols. (London, 1909), I, p. 336.

15 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, III, lxxx, 10 ad 5.

fervor of spirit that they seem worthy."[16] The present rule in the Roman Catholic Church is that every adult believer is required to receive communion at least once a year, but "it is the desire of Christ and the church that all Christians receive it often, indeed daily."[17] There is no doubt that the general level of frequency has risen among Catholics since the sixteenth century. Weekly communication remains exceptional for lay people because of the impediments imposed, but monthly communication is not uncommon among the very devout.

To return now to the Reformation, it needs to be borne in mind that the Lutheran Reformers were critical not only of sacramental conceptions and customs which had developed in the course of the Middle Ages but also of some which reached back as far as the second and third centuries. One of these was the belief that culminated in the doctrine of transubstantiation. Another was the view that was finally formulated in the claim that ordination conferred on priests alone the power (not merely the function) to administer the Lord's Supper validly and effectually. A third was the notion that came to flower in the transformation of the sacrament into the sacrifice of the Mass. When the Reformers attacked such doctrines, together with associated practices, they were running counter to traditions which had long been evolving in the church. In fact, they probably did not fully appreciate how old and how deeply rooted some of them were. Their ultimate concern, however, was not with the antiquity or universality of a belief or custom but with their conformity or non-conformity with the Gospel to which the Scriptures bear witness.

The application of this norm resulted in a profound change in the understanding of the Lord's Supper, and then also, inevitably, in its practice. Votive Masses, requiem Masses, and other *Winckelmessen* were discontinued as contrary to the nature and purpose of the sacrament. Instead of a multitude of Masses without communicants, comparatively few observances of the Lord's Supper were held in which "the people are accustomed to receive the sacrament together."[18] Instead of having a priest act as "celebrant," a large company of people "celebrated." Instead of some fifty Masses a week, many urban parishes

16 Denzinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-325; cf. p. 505.

17 Ad. Tanquerey, *Brevior synopsis theologiae moralis et pastoralis*, 9th ed. (Paris, 1924), pp. 432, 440.

18 Cf. Augsburg Confession, XXIV, 5, 40.

now celebrated the Lord's Supper only once a week, on Sunday morning. "No more than one common Mass shall be held," one of the Church Orders put it, "for the Mass (if this word or term is to be employed) is nothing else than a use of the Lord's Supper to comfort afflicted consciences and proclaim the Lord's death."[19] "Inasmuch," another Church Order asserted, "as it is not customary, where the Gospel is preached purely, to hold Mass during the week, except on high festivals, no Mass is henceforth to be held on weekdays."[20] Because in former times the Mass was regarded as a sacrifice to propitiate God, still another Church Order stated, "every corner was so filled with Masses that there were not enough altars,"[21] but now all the altars were removed except one.

Such a drastic reduction in the number of services in which the Lord's Supper was celebrated was accompanied by an increase in the frequency of communion. With reference to the late medieval custom of communing only once a year, at Easter, Luther declared that the sacrament is "not bound to a special time like the Passover, which the Jews were obliged to eat only once a year, precisely on the evening of the fourteenth day of the first full moon, without variation of a single day, . . . although the pope afterward perverted it [the sacrament] and turned it back into a Jewish feast."[22] On a number of occasions Luther recommended that, instead of once a year, people commune three or four times a year.[23] Church Orders likewise suggested "about four times a year," "at least four times a year," "at least once or twice a year."[24] The Danish bishop Peder Palladius advised, "You should never let three months, six months, or (God forbid) a whole year pass in which you do not receive communion and absolution. It must be a strange man who in this clear day of the Gospel continues to follow the old tradition of going to communion only at Easter."[25]

19 Emil Sehling, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 6 vols. to date (Leipzig, 1902-), VI, p. 53.

20 *Ibid.*, I, p. 467.

21 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 1007.

22 Large Catechism, V, 47, 48.

23 For example, in the Small Catechism, Preface, 22; in a sermon of 1531, *WA*, 34II: 360; in a letter of 1539, *WA Br*, 8: 608, 609.

24 Sehling, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 230; V, p. 84; VI, p. 1035; A. L. Richter, ed., *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, new ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1871), I, p. 295.

25 Peder Palladius, "Book of Visitation," unpublished manuscript translation by John M. Jensen, p. 35.

On the other hand, people were admonished not to "let a year, or two, three, or more years go by without receiving the sacrament, as if they were such strong Christians that they have no need for it. . . . No one should under any circumstances be coerced or compelled. . . . Nevertheless, let it be understood that people who abstain and absent themselves from the sacrament over a long period of time are not to be considered Christians."[26] The need for such admonitions appears from reports that some people did not commune "for one, two, three, four, or more years," "for two, or three, or more years," "for several years."[27] Diversity of practice resulted from reluctance "to make a law of this, as the pope has done," or to "prescribe a set time."[28] However, a general pattern quickly emerged, and most people communed three or four times a year.

To some extent the services of the church were then adapted to frequency of communion. The sacrament was made available often enough to make it possible for the people to commune with such frequency as they had come to observe. Church buildings inherited from the Middle Ages had not been constructed to accommodate all the people of a parish—sometimes running into thousands—at the altar, nor was it any longer as expeditious as before to distribute wine as well as bread to large throngs of communicants. Since it was physically impossible for a large congregation to commune together, although such corporate communion was recognized as desirable,[29] the people were asked to spread their reception over succeeding Sundays. "All should not come to the sacrament on one day . . . ," Luther once announced in a sermon, "lest the deacons be overwhelmed by the throng. Besides, there is plenty of time."[30] The Mecklenburg Order of 1545 states, "The people are especially to be admonished not to throng to the sacrament at the Easter festival. . . . True Christians go to the sacrament throughout the year: every six weeks, every four weeks, or at least several times. It is not possible for the minister to instruct the people in confession as he ought when so many people come."[31]

In order to make it possible for the people to have access to the

26 Large Catechism, V, 40, 42.
27 Richter, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 69, 180, 237, 327.
28 Small Catechism, Preface, 24; Apology, XI, 5.
29 Richter, *op. cit.*, I, p. 236; II, pp. 16, 41.
30 *WA*, 34I: 189, 199.
31 Sehling, *op. cit.*, V, p. 154.

sacrament under such circumstances, there obviously had to be more public observances than would have been required if all the people had been able to commune together. In large urban congregations the sacrament was therefore made available more frequently than in smaller country congregations. Other factors also played a part. In Brandenburg, where Margrave Joachim II tried to mediate between Lutheranism and Roman Catholicism by making so many concessions to medieval practice that he was justly charged with "Catholicizing," the attempt was at first made to retain daily observances of the sacrament in cities and weekly observances in the country.[32] In Strasbourg, on the other hand, where Lutheran influence was somewhat modified by that of the Reformed, the Lord's Supper was celebrated every fourth week in each of the parish churches in the city, and at least every eighth week in the country.[33] More common in the early years of the Reformation was the practice in Hanover, where the Lord's Supper was celebrated once every Sunday, "as often as there are communicants."[34] Later on it was sometimes found sufficient, "in the chief places," to administer the sacrament "once a month, or perhaps every other week," or "once a month in cities and every other month in villages," or nineteen times a year on prescribed Sundays and festivals.[35] What determined practice in the long run was not so much the use of a more or less "pure order" as it was experience and need. By 1599 it was discovered in Anhalt that one Communion a month was adequate because, as it was put, too few came when the sacrament was administered every week.[36]

It is not to be supposed that such adjustments resulted from less frequent communication on the part of the people. When allowance is made for the dislocation and destruction caused by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) all the evidence points to a continuation in the seventeenth century of the custom developed during the Reformation. Replying to the question, "How often should one commune?" Leonard Hutter recalled that frequency was defined neither by Christ nor by the apostles; accordingly this has been left free to the judgment of each Christian community. In Hutter's opinion one ought to commune

32 *Ibid.*, III, p. 67. On Joachim II see *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, VI, p. 183.
33 Richter, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 235, 236, 239.
34 *Ibid.*, I, p. 275; cf. II, p. 41.
35 *Ibid.*, I, pp. 267, 275; II, pp. 137, 170, 261.
36 Sehling, *op. cit.*, II, p. 536.

at least four times a year, and he cited Luther's recommendation in support of this opinion.[37] The widely respected counselor Frederick Balduin suggested that one should commune when one desires the sacrament and knows oneself to be prepared for it, "whether once a month or four times a year."[38] There were still some people who avoided the Lord's Supper for many years, "as is manifest every year from the Christian visitations,"[39] but these were exceptional. It is safe to conclude that the average frequency remained three or four times a year, especially because abstention incurred civil penalty.[40]

Under the influence of the Orthodoxism of the seventeenth century there was a tendency to reintroduce elements of the medieval scholastic understanding of the sacrament, but neither this nor the shift of accent under the influence of later Pietism had a marked effect on frequency of communion. It was not until Rationalism reduced the sacrament to the status of a sort of moralistic memorial after the middle of the eighteenth century that frequency of communion, and therefore also frequency of administration, declined. This decline was further accelerated by the removal of civil penalties for absence from church services and for abstention from the sacrament.[41]

Although only a part of the nominally Lutheran populations of so-called Christian countries was affected by them, the awakenings of the nineteenth century achieved a measure of recovery. To this day reception of communion four times a year remains the custom among more churchly people in some Lutheran congregations in Europe.[42] However, the average among church-going Lutherans is more nearly twice a year,[43] and more than half of the nominal Lutherans in Europe do not commune at all. The record of Lutherans in North America, taking into account the voluntary principle of church membership,

37 Georgius Dedekennus, *Thesauri consiliorum et decisionum*, ed. J. E. Gerhard, 3 vols. (Jena, 1671), I, p. 643; cf. Johann Gerhard, *Ausführliche schriftmässige Erklärung der beiden Artikel von der heiligen Taufe und dem heiligen Abendmahl*, 1610 (Berlin, 1868), pp. 373-376.

38 Fredericus Balduin, *Tractatus de casibus conscientiae* (Frankfurt, 1654), p. 342.

39 Dedekennus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 644.

40 Cf. J. S. Gotthold, *Manuale casuisticum* (Frankfurt, 1717), pp. 919-923.

41 Cf. Gustaf Aulen, *Eucharist and Sacrifice*, translated by E. H. Wahlstrom (Philadelphia, 1958), pp. 124, 125.

42 Cf. Hermann Sasse, ed., *Kirchliches Jahrbuch für die evangelischen Landeskirchen Deutschlands, 1932* (Gütersloh, 1932), p. 234.

43 See the tables of statistics for the diocese of Skara, in Sweden, in Sigvard Plith, *Kyrkoliv och Väckelse* (Stockholm, 1959), pp. 261-275, and similar tables for Germany in the annual *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*.

certainly equals and probably exceeds that of their church-going brethren abroad.

Both in Europe and in America a small minority of Lutheran ministers has in recent years experimented with weekly and more frequent celebrations of the sacrament. The impetus for this innovation probably stems most directly, although not exclusively, from the Oxford Movement and its subsequent developments. According to Stephen Neill, respected Anglican bishop, the results in England itself have not been encouraging. "The total number of communicants has not grown; in fact, it shows a steady tendency to decline." However, more significant than statistics of communicants (which have fluctuated for a variety of reasons) is a profounder observation which Lutherans may well ponder: "With the multiplication of celebrations, Communion has become more than ever an individual rather than a corporate act of devotion. Until 1914, in the majority of Anglican churches, Holy Communion after Matins on the first Sunday of the month was *the* parish Eucharist; numbers of communicants were large, and there was a real sense of community among those who met month by month at the Table of the Lord. It may be questioned whether that was the ideal form of the parish Eucharist; it can hardly be doubted that the almost complete disappearance of that once great unifying service has removed a powerful element of corporate Christian life at the very time when everything creative of community and fellowship is most urgently needed."[44]

This brief sketch of the history of frequency of communion is not set down in the belief that it should regulate our practice. As a matter of fact, if this were to be so, it would first be necessary to decide what part of the past is to be normative, for there have been many conflicting traditions.

Disciples of Christ and Churches of Christ practice weekly communion today because they believe that this was the practice of the primitive church and because they hold that we are bound to conform not only with the faith but also with the practice recorded in the New Testament. Luther once objected to a similar position, advocated in his time, by pointing out that if this principle were followed, one would

44 In *The Holy Communion, A Symposium*, edited by Hugh Martin (London, 1947). Note also the revealing figures given by Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice* (London, 1930), p. 225, n. 1.

have to receive communion in a reclining posture and celebrate the sacrament only at night. It might be added that adherence to the primitive practice might also require reintroduction of the agape. Lutherans have consistently contended for the legitimacy of historical development in patterns of organization, practices of worship, types of piety, and formulations of theology. Hence they cannot, if they remain true to themselves, make the primitive practice normative. Nor can they make the "consensus of the first five centuries" or the "consensus of the undivided church" normative, as some Anglo-Catholics have claimed to do, for, as we have seen, there actually was no consensus with respect to frequency of communion during that span of time; moreover, to demand that development be arrested at the end of the fifth century could hardly be justified as an alternative to stopping at the end of the first. The same difficulty would of course be encountered if the attempt were made simply to repristinate the customs of the sixteenth or any other century.

The history of frequency of communion is nevertheless of great value if we look into it not for authoritative precedents but for the experience of the church as it tried to adapt itself and the form of its proclamation to changing conditions and circumstances. This means that every custom and use must constantly be evaluated in the light of our understanding of the sacrament, and therefore of the Gospel, if we are not to become slaves to the past. We must remember, too, that the sacrament was made for man, not man for the sacrament.

Preaching and the Sacrament

By Manfred Metzger

[The following is translated by the undersigned from the first volume of the author's book on the occasional services, *Die Amtshandlungen der Kirche als Verkündigung, Ordnung und Seelsorge*, Band I: *Die Begründung der Amtshandlungen* (München: Christian Kaiser Verlag, 1957), pp. 84-91. The translator ventures to assert that American Lutherans would profit from this most comprehensive study of the occasional services to appear thus far, particularly from its healthy Lutheran consideration of the three elements of worship in every service, whether occasional or general, namely, proclamation, form, and pastoral care. Purely "liturgical" studies on worship and the occasional services almost inevitably obscure and distort their meaning. This excerpt is offered as a contribution to the current discussion of Communion. It provides a salutary antidote to the confusion that seems to exist in the minds of many who have been influenced by those who would have us share their obsessive preoccupation with liturgy and the sacrament and go on asserting that the service is a torso unless the sacrament is "celebrated."—John W. Doberstein.]

THE saving event in preaching is the same as that which occurs in the sacrament. The sacrament "bestows no gift which is not bestowed by the Word, but it bestows the same gift in a different way."[1] In what different way? This is the point where the differences and antagonisms arose and continue to arise in the church, even to the point of controversy and separation. The pastoral acts proclaim the event of salvation as the address and act of God *in* Word and sacrament; God is present in both; he speaks; he acts; he causes his salvation to be proclaimed. Therefore *he* is the central concern; and in everything that is done to communicate him it is always a matter of this *one* proclamation. The proclamation remains the principal concept under which preaching and the sacraments are subsumed. We cannot build

1 H. Asmussen, *Die Lehre vom Gottesdienst*, p. 43.

our understanding of the service of worship or the occasional services on a divided foundation. Traditionally the twofold way in which God communicated himself has been expressed in the formula "Word and sacrament," and this order is significant because it makes clear that it is the Word which has precedence, that it is the Word in which the sacrament is "comprehended." But this is not invariable; in fact, in so far as the fundamental relationship of both subordinate terms to the principal term "proclamation" is maintained, the order may even be reversed.

Karl Barth has pointed out[2] that a right understanding of the service of worship must not be evolved merely in terms of the traditional formulas; the (Reformed) Church of the sixteenth century went so far as to develop it "from beginning to end under the heading of the *sacrament*." And the Lutheran Church, in so far as it does not go beyond Luther's statements concerning the sacrament, teaches us to understand the sacraments as "God's Word to us." Asmussen emphasizes that "without the interpretation" of the sacraments given in the Word of God "there can be no talk of any legitimate administration of the sacrament."[3]

If we keep in mind that Word and sacrament—both on the same level—are to be subsumed under the proclamation of salvation, then nothing stands in the way of a free and broad development of both of them. Then what we say about the sacrament afterwards cannot undo what we have said about the proclamation. We may ask whether it would not be better to speak of "preaching and sacrament" rather than "Word and sacrament," since, at least in the traditional usage, this results in an incomplete statement and we are always obliged to go on and explain that the "Word" means the message as well as the preaching (or just one of these as the case may be). If we use the term "Word" and subsume both preaching and the sacrament under it, then it would be necessary to discuss the sacrament and preaching separately. Therefore, in order to achieve the same end and not confuse the terminology, we put the term "proclamation" first.

Does theology speak of the sacrament in a different way from which it speaks about the Word of preaching? Are the categories of revelation changed here? Does revelation become a hidden, paradoxical

2 *Gotteserkenntnis und Gottesdienst nach reformatorischer Lehre*, p. 183.
3 H. Asmussen, *ibid.*, p. 35.

category at this point? Is something gained in the sacrament that cannot be gained in preaching? Is God captured in the sacrament? Does the inaccessible become accessible after all? We must decide from the very beginning whether we are suddenly going to forget the whole doctrine of the Word as soon as we begin talking about the sacrament or whether we are going to stick to the doctrine of the proclamation throughout the doctrine of the sacrament.

As far as the exegetical findings are concerned, Rudolf Bultmann has shown that there can be no doubt that from the beginning the sacrament was understood "as an act which makes supernatural powers effectual through natural means."[4] And in this act "correctly spoken words" are the necessary condition if these powers are to become effectual. Formulas or objects become the vehicles of supernatural power and "the act, which apart from these conditions would be a purely worldly, natural act, . . . becomes a supernatural celebration that produces a miracle."[5] Therefore we cannot talk about the sacrament without at the same time making a statement about our own understanding of the world; when we are dealing with the sacrament we cannot simply leave undone what we are constantly having to do in preaching, namely, proclaim the message for today. The sacrament confronts us with the question: How can spiritual powers be related to material elements which serve as their vehicle? The spiritualization of the sacramental concept, which is an outgrowth of a later time, is a critical process that occurs in every new interpretation of the sacrament; must this spiritualization at the same time enlarge the distance between Word and sacrament?

Sooner or later we have to *say* what happens in the sacrament. Without such a statement it cannot be understood. "As often as you do this, you *proclaim* the Lord's death." The proclamation makes the meaning of the sacrament understandable; it proclaims that it is remembrance of the Lord's death. Remembrance is proclamation: "Christ was put to death for our trespasses and raised for our justification."[6] Remembrance is not repetition, not celebration or observance, not

4 *Theologie des Neuen Testaments,* p. 133.

5 *Ibid.,* p. 134. On the inseparability of the sacrament and proclamation, Luther says: *". . . ex Christo patet, qui dicit: Quotiescumque haec facietis, in meam memoriam facietis, q. d. 'Non celebrabitis missam, nisi praedicetis evangelium' . . . Ideo non licet missam perficere sine evangelio . . ."* (*WA,* 1, p. 444).

6 Rom. 4:25.

sacrifice. What the sacrament is it is through the proclamation which *says* it. Of course this view of the sacrament constitutes a fundamental decision; but every statement about Word and sacrament has within it such a decision, either as a presupposition or as a consequence. We must say where we are going: Are we going to let the Word dissolve and disappear in the sacrament? This we cannot do. Or are we going to let the sacrament dissolve and disappear in the Word? This we dare not do; for the fact is that we have both. For the sacrament this interpretation recommends itself: It is a *sign* "or token which separates us from all unbaptized men."[7] But this sign is understood in the intensive sense: it is the "indication of," not merely a "pointing to," what happens in the sacrament. Baptism and the Lord's Supper do not merely speak about the covenant and the presence of the Lord as a "saving fact"; they address it to a person, they convey it. (We are still not saying: They *are* this fact of salvation.) Is God then "more present" (if it is possible to speak this way) in Baptism and the Lord's Supper than he is in preaching? Is what preaching does not have, namely, visible and tastable reality, supplied, as it were, in the sacrament? If the majesty of God is cut off from human intrusion on *one* side, can one get hold of it from another side? Does God contradict his own freedom by "surrendering" himself in the sacrament as he does not do in preaching? There can be no doubt that this misunderstanding of the sacrament is constantly cropping up, and not only in the Roman Church. And the current flight into the sacrament is a flight from the so-called "abstract" Word into the "concrete" sacrament (read: elements). God is not a materialized God in the sacrament, and the Word which everywhere accompanies the sacrament does not permit itself to be evaded. Therefore *faith* is the indispensable copula. For the sign "is" not something in itself;[8] it "is" not the thing itself; it signifies and points to it. The sign must remain something that is preliminary; it must not become the thing itself. That is to say, God does not need the sacrament either as a gift or something that must be performed or celebrated. Man needs it. Therefore man should receive the sacrament as a sign that the Word of God is true; he should not transform it into a work of man, a re-presentation and celebration,

7 *WA*, 2, p. 727.

8 ". . . without faith the outward reception of this sacrament is nothing; faith must be present and make one fit for the outward reception" (WA, 10III, p. 49).

as if *he* had something to give to God through the sacrament. On the contrary, he should rejoice in receiving the sacrament, and his faith should become more certain because of it. This puts the sacrament in its proper, God-given relationship: it is God's assurance of his faithfulness and mercy. If this is grasped then it has achieved its purpose. If the troubled, tempted, despairing man is made "courageous and bold" through the sacrament, then the sacrament has been "effectual." In fact, then it *is* the covenant of God and the presence of Christ in faith.

Gerhard Ebeling has pointed out the consequences of a sacramentalism that loses connection with use and the promise: "If the sacrament is not interpreted solely in the light of the relationship of the promise and faith, then its use becomes a magical violation and distortion of the sacrament. Likewise, if the Word is not interpreted solely in the light of the relationship of the promise and faith, then its use leads to an allegorical violation and distortion of the Scriptures."[9]

We render no service either to the sacrament or to men by defining it with respect to its "attributes" or objectifying it with respect to its function. "Luther is far more concerned with the people who use the sacrament than with the sacrament itself. Accordingly, one can say that it becomes effectual *ex opere operantis,* but one must immediately add that this too is something spiritual, effected by God, an *opus operatum Dei.*"[10] It may therefore be permissible for us to try to define the nature of the sacrament "as such," but there is little promise in it, for the sacrament does not enter into life in its conceptualized aseity. After all, it was instituted not *through* faith but *for the sake of* faith. It is well that the kind of faith that presumes to possess creative power be reminded of this. But to keep stressing the fact that the sacrament exists as such *apart* from faith *and antecedent* to faith is no comfort in time of temptation. The sun shines even when I do not see it. It doubtless shines for me. The flowers bloom even when I do not see them. But what does that mean to me? To keep emphasizing the absolute character of the sacrament in no way makes it any "sweeter" to those of weak faith; it only makes it more strange and remote; it is of interest only with respect to the validity of the sacra-

9 Gerhard Ebeling, *Evangelische Evangelien-Auslegung,* p. 299.
10 W. Jetter, *Die Taufe beim jungen Luther,* p. 339.

ment despite the unbelief of the indifferent and despite the unworthiness of those who administer it.[11]

This then is the point where the question of how the sacrament communicates the gift in a "different way" from the preaching receives its answer. The sacrament presents the gift in a different way because man is intended to experience the goodness of God in soul *and* body, with his heart *and* his mouth. He is God's poor man, full of doubt, despair, and temptation; he is caught in sinful flesh. Therefore God comes to meet him right *here* in order to redeem him: "For we poor men, since we live in our five senses, must always have, along with the words, at least some outward sign on which we may lay hold. . . ."[12] But man is also the hardened man; he evades the word of preaching in any way he can, and when it hits home and puts him on the spot he is quite capable of acting as if he knew nothing about it at all and that it was not meant for him anyhow. The sacrament, however, says to him, just as it does to the troubled person who is in need of assurance, that *he* is the one who is meant, and by this personal application it makes the strongest kind of contribution to preaching. Luther said, "When I preach of his [Christ's] death, this is a public sermon in the congregation in which I mention nobody in particular; whoever takes it to heart takes it to heart. But when I administer the sacrament I give it specifically to the one who receives it. . . . This is something more than the general sermon. For although precisely the same thing that is present in preaching is also present in the sacrament and vice versa, nevertheless there is this advantage that here a specific person is meant. In a sermon no individual is indicated or portrayed, but in the sacrament that which the sermon conveys is given to you and to me in particular."[13]

Only when it is clear that the sacrament *witnesses* to him who instituted it, and therefore that it demands faith, unmistakably demands it, do we get rid of all misgivings about subordinating the sacrament to the proclamation. This can neither make the sacrament unnecessary nor diminish its specific importance in the least. On the contrary, it has full importance as a sign of God's action, as a letter and seal of

11 *". . . sicut verbum dei, ubi fuerit virtus dei, est potens, licet impii hac potentia non fruantur, ita sacramentum, ubi benedicitur, sacramentum est perfectum, licet impii ea benedictione non fruantur."* H. Jacoby, *Die Liturgik der Reformatoren*, p. 183.

12 *WA*, 6, p. 358.

13 *EA*, 29, p. 345.

the Word, as a refuge of the tempted and troubled. But it cannot and it was not intended to be removed from the purpose for which it was instituted, namely, its central message: *Deus pro me.*[14] Apart from this purpose it is an object "without effect"[15] in which the relationships of substance and Spirit, element and Word are promoted to a position of independent importance. In other words, the view of the sacrament which thinks of it as substance corrupts the historical understanding of it.[16]

For pastoral acts (occasional services) a historical (that is to say, a kerygmatic-eschatological) understanding of the sacraments is foundational. Not because sacrament in the occasional services—for example, communion of the sick as distinguished from congregational communion—is any different from what it is otherwise, but because the proclamation *in* and *connected with* the sacrament is *consolatio* and not *definitio. Baptism* proclaims that God "desires to be a gracious God to the person baptized,"[17] that Jesus Christ draws the baptized person into his death and resurrection and in this way transfers him into the new being. Where Baptism occurs, there the kingdom of God is coming into being. The *Lord's Supper* proclaims the presence of the risen, exalted Jesus Christ, calls us to his table, and in *one* cup and bread gives us the fellowship of his body and blood—in other words, himself. Where the Lord's Supper is, there "faith experiences, as a present reality, life in the kingdom of God."[18] The *doctrine* of Baptism and the Lord's Supper is not above but rather subject to this proclamation. The proclamation precedes the doctrine; its purpose is not to displace or supplant the doctrine, any more than the doctrine should wish to supplant the proclamation. Indeed, the proclamation itself con-

14 The defect of the institutional view of the sacrament is that it has more interest in preserving and extending the cultic than in the consolation of forgiveness, more interest in the command ("This do") than in the application ("For you"). For Rudolf Stählin (*Leiturgia* I, pp. 2 ff.) the command of Jesus becomes the foundation of the history of Christian worship and thus also "the most peculiar, specific, and real 'activity' of the church." Cf. my review in *Arbeit und Besinnung,* VIII (1954), p. 166.

15 "To seek the efficacy of the sacrament apart from the promise and apart from faith is to labor in vain and find damnation." *WA,* 6, p. 533.

16 "The substantial interpretation delivers Christ into the hands of the church and its priests; the historical interpretation confronts the worshiping congregation with the acting Christ himself." Fr. Delekat, *Die heiligen Sakramente und die Ordnungen der Kirche,* p. 85.

17 *Württembergisches Konfirmationsbüchlein* (1908), Question 6.

18 E. Fuchs, *Das Sakrament im Lichte der neueren Exegese,* p. 10.

ains the doctrine, in fact is itself, to a large extent, doctrine; but it s not identical with the doctrine. Proclamation is always doctrine, but loctrine is not always proclamation. The proclamation of the sacrament n the services of the church is *testificatio,* not *explicatio.* It proclaims 'the eschatological event through which the church comes to life and lives and abides."[19]

Götz Harbsmeier has demonstrated the fruitlessness of the object-subject formula for the definition of Word and sacrament and rejected t as a false antithesis: the one Christ cannot be cut up into a (subjective) preached Christ and an (objective) sacramental, cultic Christ, n which case the objective always wins out over the subjective. Rather 'the gift is always at the same time the giver."[20] Preaching and the sacrament are not separate things in the proclamation of Christ, two things that are to be added to each other. Both of them, and each of them, offer an indivisible gift. "It is not two things that result in a whole. Rather it is a whole that gives itself to us in two ways."[21]

As Heinrich Bornkamm has shown,[22] we cannot simply take over Luther's views on the sacrament without critically taking into account what his purpose was at the time he wrote. The way he expressed himself is affected by the occasion on which he wrote, but his basic insight remains the same: First, the mystery of redemption, guaranteed by the Word and received in faith. The sacrament finds its point in the proclamation; without the proclamation it is nothing. The *Word* is the Gospel; therefore salvation is in the Word. Second, the reality of the revelation is in its personal address and assurance. The Word is an act; Christ puts himself into his gifts, invisibly to be sure, and to be apprehended only by faith, but really and not merely symbolically. Bornkamm does not go on to revive the assumptions on which he based his doctrine of the sacrament, namely, his exegesis of the words of institution ("This is my body") and the Christology of the doctrine of the two natures. Whether one wishes to follow Bornkamm in this respect may be a matter of choice, but one thing is sure, and that is that today we cannot silently smuggle into the doctrine of the sacraments two different and contradictory cosmologies and views of his-

19 G. Harbsmeier, "Wort und Sakrament in ihrer Bedeutung für die Erneuerung des Gottesdienst," *Evangelische Theologie,* 1953, p. 244.

20 *Ibid.,* p. 241.

21 *Ibid.,* p. 241.

22 *Luther's World of Thought,* tr. by Martin H. Bertram, pp. 94 ff.

tory, whether these be called super-world, super-history, or supernature, so that a person has to switch back and forth between two "realities" and faith is obliged to accomplish the "work" of sacrificing the independence of its own historical existence.[23]

The sacrament is not something that exists for its own sake, but "for you." Its purpose and meaning is to assure us that the Word is spoken to *us,* but at the same time, through Christ's fellowship with us, to create mutual fellowship; Christ comes and identifies himself with sinners and therefore they too can come together and be together "in order that we may accept each other and each let his neighbor's welfare be his own."[24] The church thus acknowledges and confesses the sacrament through the love in which Christians acknowledge and accept one another. Here nothing is left to the private sphere; the sign becomes visible in life; it becomes a *publicum signum confessionis.* Nor is anything left to the cultic sphere, as if the sacrament were an end in itself and not, rather, new joy in the grateful use of the gift, in new obedience of life. For the message of the incarnation of God is a message that is believed and followed in man's actual life as he really becomes man. This message is proclaimed by the sacrament and by preaching. Because of this message and proclamation the sacrament is framed in words. It is not only words; it needs words, just as the word of preaching needs the sacrament in order to show what it means. But what the sacrament *is,* it is through the *verba testamenti* (in the Lord's Supper) and the *verba mandati* (in Baptism). And these words are proclamation: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of sins," and "Do this . . . until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." The relationship of Word and sacrament is a relationship of oneness and difference. "When we are at the Lord's Supper we are returning to Baptism; when we remember our Baptism we are hastening to the Word of grace; when we hear the Word of grace we receive a desire for the Lord's table."[25] Therefore there is neither a monism of preaching nor a monism of the sacrament.

23 Friedrich Gogarten, *Die Verkündigung Jesu Christi,* p. 458.

24 *WA,* 10I, 2, pp. 85 ff. On the question of the sacrament and the sinner, see Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte,* II, p. 12, and H. Rückert, "Messe und Abendmahl," in *Der römische Katholizismus und das Evangelium,* pp. 171 ff.

25 P. Schempp, "Die Verkirchlichung des Abendmahls," *Unterwegs,* III, Heft 5, p. 265.

Travels in Persian Kurdistan

Excerpts From the Missionary Journals of the Late Rev. Gustav Karl Wiencke, Sr., D.D.[1]

Edited and Translated by Matthew I. Wiencke

FEW areas of missionary endeavor have witnessed so flourishing a life or met with more tragic an end than the province of Azerbaijan, northwest Iran, in the shadow of the great Caucasus range. The story of a century of mission schools and hospitals conducted by the American Board and later the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions is well known.[2] These and later stations have ever lived under the threat of the Kurds, a wild and fierce people who for centuries have dwelt in their mountain fastnesses along the common frontier of Turkey and Iran.

One of the worst of the Kurdish raids upon the Syrian and Armenian Christians in modern times occurred in the year 1896.

1 Translated from the German, "Auf Kundschafterpfaden durch Kurdistan vom 9. September bis 24. November 1903." The original manuscript notebooks, together with a full text of the English translation, are deposited in the archives of the Krauth Memorial Library at the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia. In the preparation of this article, I am indebted to Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette, of Yale Divinity School, for suggesting pertinent bibliography on Christian missions in Iran, particularly R. Schäfer's book, *Geschichte der Deutschen Orient-Mission* (Potsdam, 1932); and to Professor Albert F. Wessen, of Yale University, who provided very timely editorial assistance. To them I wish to extend my sincere thanks. Professor T. G. Tappert directed me to the Rev. L. Yaure, of Philadelphia, son of the hospitable Kascha Yaure mentioned in the Journal, who read the translation and offered many helpful suggestions. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this kindness on the part of the son of my father's distinguished host. In matters of translation and editing, my mother (Mrs. G. K. Wiencke, Sr.) has given the greatest of help. A map, tracing the route of the journey, was drawn by Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Yale College, class of 1957, but could unfortunately not be reproduced here.

2 I refer chiefly to the heroic achievement in Urmia and vicinity. See K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York, 1937-1945), Vol. VI, 55-59, and Vol. VII, 270, 271, with footnote references and bibliography cited there; in particular, *A Century of Mission Work in Iran, 1834-1934* (Beirut: American Press, no date or author given); Justin Perkins, *A Residence of Eight Years in Persia among the Nestorian Christians* (Andover, 1843); Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1872); and J. Richter, *Mission und Evangelisation im Orient*, second ed. (Gütersloh, 1930), English trans. of first ed., *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (Edinburgh, 1910).

The appalling loss of life and property and consequent misery of thousands of Armenian and Syrian families evoked the sympathy of Christian peoples throughout Europe and America. Out of this catastrophe was born the *Deutsche Orient-Mission* (German Orient Mission) under the leadership and inspiration of Dr. Johannes Lepsius, son of the renowned Egyptologist, Richard Lepsius. Following a journey of exploration through the Middle East in 1896, he directed the founding of orphanages, notably in Urmia and Khoi, in the province of Azerbaijan, and in Urfa and Diabekir, in what was then eastern Turkey. Already the year before, he had founded a journal, *Der christliche Orient*, which until its lapse in 1924 proved to be an eloquent spokesman for his work and cause.

It was not the intention of Dr. Lepsius to found a new church in these lands, nor to interfere with the indigenous Nestorian churches which had for some fifteen centuries withstood the pressures first of Sassanian, then of Moslem rulers. Nor was his intention strictly to proselytize; as his biographer has said, his first concern was that the Gospel should be made known in deeds of love and mercy.[3] His visits to the Near East at a time of great political unrest and violence convinced him of the prior and compelling need for the relief of human suffering and want.

By the year 1905 the DOM was conducting work in seven stations in the Middle East and among the Moslems of Bulgaria, with a staff of 20 European and seven Oriental workers. Of particular concern to these journals is the orphanage at Urmia, founded in 1896; its housefather was Rabbi David Ismael; the directress, until 1905, Miss Marie Paulat, of Königsberg, East Prussia. The later history of Urmia and of the DOM is bound up with the tragic experiences of World War I and the period of inflation which followed it. In 1914 the Russians swarmed into Azerbaijan and overran Khoi. The children, interrupted in their wool-spinning, were forced to flee; the orphanage became a barracks for Russian cossacks. Though Persia remained neutral throughout the war, the German missionaries were expelled from the province, and both orphanages at Khoi and Urmia were reduced to a heap of ruins. In the post-war confusion, the Kurds, instigated it is believed by the Turks, wreaked untold slaughter upon the Armenian minorities. The work of Christian missions was brought

3 R. Schäfer, *op. cit.*, 27.

nearly to a close. What the war and massacres had effected for the DOM was finished by the severe inflation in post-war Germany. Dr. Lepsius personally directed the gathering and distribution of much relief, but the work of the orphanages in Persia could not be resumed, nor the houses rebuilt.

In June, 1902, the writer of these journals left his native city of Berlin to enter the service of the DOM; and on August 3 of that year he took up work as a missionary-teacher in the orphanage at Urmia. During his stay in Persia, he made several field-trips, the most notable of which was an expedition of two and one-half months through parts of Kurdistan. On that journey he kept a day-book; and from these notes he wrote up his experiences, after the return to Urmia. It is this account from which the following extracts are selected. In preparing the translation, I have taken certain liberties with the text—transposing sentences here and there, condensing and combining materials to make as clear and ordered an account of the journey as possible. Throughout, I have tried to keep to the spirit of the journal—to what was, apparently, an account written in haste and in the enthusiasm of recent and vivid experience.

Finally, a word about Persia of fifty years ago is perhaps appropriate. At that time, Persia and Turkey were the last great monarchies of the Middle East. In 1906 the Shah was to yield to the demands of revolutionaries and to grant a parliament (the *majlis*), the first constitutional government in Persia in her more than two thousand years of history. Few dreamed of the vast mineral wealth which lay below the surface of Persian soil in the region of Hamadan and the gulf. The land was without railroads, save for six miles of track leading from Teheran to a Moslem shrine in the suburbs; and few if any roads fit for vehicular traffic crossed the mountains and stony plains of the northwestern provinces. The native costumes and the veil had not yielded to western influence; caravanserais and "tea-houses" were an essential part of any long journey. It was in these last years of the old Persia that the missionary expedition by *troika* and horseback, over caravan-routes and mountain trails, set forth.

I. To Persian Kurdistan

Of the great and fair land of the Persians the cultivated European knows very little, apart from meager notices in the newspapers and the little one learns

in school. Among diligent students of the Bible, one should find a much wider knowledge, as the stories of the kingdoms of the Persians take up considerable space in the Old Testament. Yes, you may say, if only these twenty-five hundred years did not intervene. Yet you would be astonished to find that in many parts of that country the people are quite untouched by western culture and are living today just as they lived in Bible times. And as to the Kurds, these tribes would scarcely have awakened the interest of the busy Occident had they not made themselves famous. It is, of course, a fame of a sad and bloody sort, such as the pages of history seldom record. That tragedy occurred some ten years ago, and today the destructive waves of hatred and murder have not yet entirely abated, but await the opportunity of another outbreak to engulf still more victims.

The blood bath of the Kurds over the Christian population of Armenia the Lord has used, as it were, to open a door to the otherwise closed Mohammedan world of Persia. For a small group of Armenian and Syrian children, whose parents had been murdered by the Kurds of the neighboring provinces, the saving and merciful love of our first workers erected a home on Persian soil. This small number grew, and soon two fine homes were opened; also thanks to God's help, and in spite of many difficulties, the Persian government showed itself kindly disposed to a work of mercy so foreign to Mohammedan ways. Thus now for several years our workers have proved their Christian patience and love in caring for and training these neglected, oriental children.

Often when we came into contact with the Kurds, in the course of our orphanage work, we realized that if anything were to influence them we should first learn to know them in their own country. So when word came from our mission director, Dr. Lepsius, requesting us to make a trip at a suitable time of year to southern Persia, our mission inspector, Pastor Detwig von Oertzen, readily welcomed the assignment.

It was suggested that the journey proceed to Kermanshah, and if possible by way of Shahriza to Shiraz. We should observe chiefly the Kurdish people and their conditions of life, to see whether a station might be established among them. The date of our departure was set for Sept. 9 [1903]. That gave us two-and-a-half months' time to prepare our equipment and to inform ourselves about Kurdistan, a country unfamiliar to us. The plan for our trip was as follows: Starting from our orphanage "Dilgusha" (Persian for "Open Heart") in Urmia, we were to proceed southward along Lake Urmia into the Kurdish mountains to the governmental city of Sa'uj Bulaq; thence eastward and south by way of Sa'in Qal'ah and Bijar to Hamadan (ancient Ecbatana); from Hamadan again south and westerly through Kurdish territory to Kermanshah and thence north to Sinnah [Sinandij], capital of Kurdistan; from Sinnah due north to Saqqiz; thence to Sa'uj Bulaq, completing the circle; and finally the return to Urmia via Tabriz.[4]

4 The spellings of place-names have been adapted in almost all cases from E. Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran* (Chicago, 1940). Exceptions are Khoi and Kermanshah and those sites which have subsequently been renamed. The latter group includes Urmia and Lake Urmia, which are now called Riza'iyyah and Lake Riza'iyyah respectively; likewise

In all, the journey lasted from Sept. 9 to Nov. 24; and these seventy-seven days were full of hardships and illness, especially in the land of Kurdistan—once sickness near unto death. But where our weakness was great, the divine strength was still greater.

Shortly before our departure, we were invited to two Persian festivities, the birthday celebration of the King of Persia and the opening celebration of an oriental wedding. In fact, only the second was really oriental; the first was strongly colored by European customs. That we, representatives of the German orphanage, an hour after sundown, were to appear in the house of the governor (all of this conveyed with many expressions of courtesy)—so ran the invitation. Our place was at the side of the American and English missionaries and the newly arrived Russian consul, while Persian guests were seated at the other half of the table. We did not eat in Persian fashion, seated on rugs on the floor, but at a perfectly appointed table, set in European style.

At the close of the meal, a distinguished Persian invited the guests to his home. His son was to be married, and on this evening before the wedding the presents were to be given. It was already toward nine o'clock, but the Persians love to extend such unexpected invitations to show their riches. Imagine our astonishment, when after finding our way with difficulty through the narrow, dirty streets, we suddenly came upon a large courtyard with gardens and terraces and fountains. Before us lay the splendid residence, surrounded by a wall and outbuildings. We were seated in the large corridor, and from windows which in the Persian fashion extend to the ground, we could look into the courtyard, illuminated by torches. There upon the ground were seated a large number of men, legs crossed under them in the Persian manner; while above, on the flat roofs, sat or lay or stood a large throng of women and girls. After our arrival, the gifts were displayed in long wooden trays, each lighted by five lamps, reminding one of the parable of the ten virgins. On the trays were also sweetmeats, which later were divided among the guests. Shortly before midnight came the bridegroom, who was joyfully welcomed by the men. A military band played. Fireworks illuminated the sky. It was like a fairyland when the rockets burst into showers of sparks and illuminated the otherwise drab scenery; and the oriental costumes reminded one of the tales of *The Thousand and One Nights*. At twelve we rode out of the courtyard into the moonlight through the avenues of giant plantain trees, like soldiers marshalled in orderly lines. The silence was welcome. Our eyes could rejoice in the infinite goodness of God, who has set a watch over his sheep in the starry heavens to show that his faithful, fatherly hand is with us in all our ways.

What meaning had these festivities for us? Today we ate luxurious food from loaded tables; tomorrow we would lie in poor mud-huts, or be racked by fever, or be driven away, sick and in great need, by the fanatical Mohammedans —because we were Christians. We would learn to say with the Apostle Paul: "I

Sa'uj Bulaq is now Mahabad; Sa'in Qal'ah is Shahin Dazh; Takan Tepe, Takab; and Sinnah, Sinandij.

have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound, . . . both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need."

II. From Urmia to Sa'uj Bulaq

The morning of our departure, Sept. 9, was still and beautiful. Although we had finished with all our preparations the night before, we did not get under way until 9 o'clock. All the children stood in a line to bid us goodbye. It was hard for all of us, and tears came to the eyes of many of the children. As traveling companion we had a Swedish missionary, Pastor Wolff, with his Syrian interpreter and a servant. He wished to visit the Jews in Saqqiz among whom he planned to work. As this pastor was not very robust, we agreed to make the journey by *troika*. (A *troika* is a rather long wagon, strongly built. In it one sits on rugs which are spread out on the floor. The baggage is stored in the back of the wagon, and a cover provides protection from the sun. Our *troika* had the further advantage of springs.)

As long as we were near the city, the roads were good and we got along well. But soon the true Persian roads began with their ruts and holes. The wide irrigation ditches, crossed by logs or earth, were often so narrow or full of holes that they would not hold the wagon. Then the skill of our *troikchi* ("driver") was shown. While we got out and walked, he got over, if need be on two wheels.

Later, on the first day, we had quite an unpleasant experience. The road became worse and worse and finally ended in a village pond, crossed only by a small footpath. There was no way to go around; we had no choice but to drive straight on through the water, which soon came up to the axle. At first all went well, then we seemed to strike a hole, and the wagon swung to the side. We saved ourselves from falling, but our baggage had to be fished from the water. The village children laughed at our plight, and soon all the villagers crowded around. With the help of some of the men, our servant succeeded in getting the wagon upright again. While the men got the horses and wagon out, we dried out our rugs and cooking utensils and maps in the hot sun. Alas, our sugar was thoroughly drenched! Laughing and joking over our plight, we journeyed on, resolved and praying not to let these hindrances disturb us. About 7 o'clock we reached our first night-quarters in Dizah [Dolani Dizah] in a well built caravanserai (inn for caravans).

After the varied experiences of the first day, we looked forward to a good night's rest. We slept, as is customary at this time of year, in the open, on the large stone veranda. But the caravanserai was crowded. Below us in the courtyard ranged a great number of animals and men. In that tumult of man and beast, sleep was hardly to be thought of. But one could look up into the heavens at the twinkling stars. Perhaps just so the stars looked down upon the caravanserai in Bethlehem where Mary and Joseph stopped and the rooms were all full and there was only the stable where Jesus was born and laid in perhaps such a stone

manger as this. Surely these caravanserais are no different from those in the time of our Saviour's birth. And here, too, one sees the wife and child seated on the donkey and the father walking along at the side.

Our caravanserai formed a large square; on the front was the main building with many small rooms, on the other three sides were the long stables with the stone mangers. In the stables a platform is usually built up, on which the drivers, the poorest of the poor, sleep. These people lead a hard life. In summer and winter, day and night, they are on the way; in the hot sun, in rain or snow, they follow beside their loaded animals. They are poorly clad, mostly in rags; in summer they go barefoot. Their food is simple, consisting of dry bread and cheese (made of goat or sheep's milk) with tea.

The next morning we were up early and on our way by 8 o'clock. The road, now firmer but very stony, led along Lake Urmia. A frightful smell of stagnant salt water soon showed us that here was a place where salt was manufactured. Everywhere we saw balls of salt shining in the sun. (Lake Urmia contains almost as much salt as the Dead Sea.) To extract the salt, ditches are dug connecting with each other and the lake. The water flowing into the ditches and evaporating in the hot sun leaves a salt sediment which is later rolled into balls and dried.

At noon we found a "tea-house" (*chai khanah*) on the way. At first it seemed impossible in that glowing heat to drink hot tea. But soon we discovered that what was good for cold was good for heat. After a few glasses of tea in the shade of the house, our wearied spirits were revived. While our companions refreshed themselves, I took the opportunity to photograph a threshing-sled at work. The threshing of grain is done in much the same way as it is described in the Bible.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we came to Mehmandar, where we had time to cook the first hot meal of our trip. Our traveling companion had brought a quantity of potatoes, so a pot of potato soup was soon ready, made with the addition of bouillon cubes. We had a better night's rest. The weather changed and became colder, so it was the last night we spent in the open air. Now on the third day we expected to reach Sa'uj Bulaq. The road ascended gradually, and from the lake led southward over prairie and grazing land—a better route for our wagon. The country was somewhat barren, broken here and there by cotton and melon fields, or where the peasants had come together to thresh the grain. On the way we met a solitary Kurdish woman riding a camel, and leading another. In the distance we saw tents and herds of cattle. It was early afternoon, but there was still a hard piece of road to travel, and a deep river still separated us from the city. No matter where we tried to ford the stream, we found the water too deep. At last we drove down into the bed of the river where it seemed to be sufficiently shallow to cross over. But now began a laborious effort. In the gummy sand the wheels could hardly turn. Again we were obliged to get out and wade through the deep sand. Nor was it easy to get up the opposite bank. For over an hour we wandered about in the river-bed and hunted for a suitable place of ascent. At length, picking our way through shallow water and deep

ditches, we found ourselves back on the road and reached Sa'uj Bulaq late in the afternoon.

We took lodgings in the Jewish quarter. We could have found a place among the Mohammedans, but chose otherwise on account of our companion, Pastor Wolff, who wished to lodge near the Jews. Mohammedan cities are not noted for cleanliness, but the Jewish quarters of these cities are still worse. It was interesting to see traces of blood sprinkled on the doors from the last Passover, for among the Persian Jews this custom seems still to be observed. In the second story—here the houses are never higher—we found spacious rooms but with walls and floor of bare mud-brick and very dirty. A little girl, about twelve years old and very pretty, was trying to sweep the floor. While our servant prepared a hot supper, she cleaned the samovar for us and would have poured out the rinse-water upon the floor had we not intervened. We learned afterward that the child had already been married for two years. Among the Persians, a girl is not married under twelve, but among the Jews such an early marriage is not unusual. That night we suffered from the heat, while before it had been too cold.

III. Sa'uj Bulaq

It is a very lovely valley, surrounded by high mountains, where the city lies. The broad river, curving about the city with its many gardens and trees, presents to the eye a charming, refreshing scene. This is all the more striking in that the mountain ridges of Persia are barren and desolate; and only in the spring, when the snows melt, is fresh grass to be seen. Then all too soon the glowing sun burns this away.

Sa'uj Bulaq, the largest city of this little mountain district and the seat of government, differs little from other Persian cities. There are no remarkable public buildings. Its population and that of the vicinity are principally Kurdish, except for several hundred Jewish and only two Armenian families. These minorities have been absorbed by the Kurds and speak only Persian and Kurdish. As to religion, those of Armenian descent know the name of Christ but little of Christianity, although they consider themselves Christians. This, unfortunately, is the case among the adherents of the ancient Christian churches, who live scattered among the inhabitants and away from pastoral care.

In spite of its high altitude, Sa'uj Bulaq has a very hot summer. The heat in the city is very oppressive, increased by the narrow, crooked streets. There are only two broad, airy boulevards. One follows the river. Thither on the cool summer evenings stream the sturdy Kurdish youths with their horses. There before a large crowd the Kurdish riding feats are performed. One of these in particular should be mentioned to show how skilled are the Kurds in riding. One evening, as we strolled along the Tamasha Place (with the word *tamasha* the Persian denotes any public entertainment at all where something noteworthy is to be seen), a grey horse came running in, at full gallop, when a young rider leaped on and stood upright on the unsaddled horse. It was our servant, who had come down to water Pastor von Oertzen's horse. He could not refrain from showing

the Kurds that in these things he could keep pace with them. In fact, no one could imitate his riding trick.

The second of the two broad streets lies on the other side of the city and extends beyond it. In places it becomes the street of "those who do not speak" and separates the cemetery from the city. A Mohammedan cemetery, or better said, burial field, does not in any way correspond to our European conception of hallowed ground. It is large and desolate; no tree or shrub or flower beautify the ground. Irregularly the graves are placed, close together and little more than slightly elevated mounds of sand. The coffins, narrow and simple as possible, are buried just beneath the surface. (For whoever has the means to do so makes the prescribed pilgrimage to Karbala, near Baghdad, and takes the coffin with the remains of the dead to bury them there in sacred soil.) These cemeteries, moreover, lie preferably on hills situated near highways. They have no walls or enclosures, even when they are within the city. As they are near roads, it often happens that pedestrians, riders, or mule caravans pass directly over the graves. On the other hand, the burial places of old Christian congregations in the Orient are distinguished in that they are placed around the churches and are surrounded by a wall. In Sa'uj Bulaq one cemetery was pleasingly provided with large shade trees.

We remained in Sa'uj Bulaq one week to acquaint ourselves with the living conditions and to meet the prominent people of the city. As we had two Syrian friends in the city, we were introduced into their circle of acquaintances. An especially interesting man was the head of the telegraph office, Bashir-es Saltan, an intelligent and by Persian standards, a well-read man. At a dinner *a la perse*, to which the chief officer of the militia was also invited, we engaged in a conversation which took a religious turn. Our host showed us a book, written in his earlier years, in which he had undertaken to prove that in the Torah and the Gospel it had been prophesied that Mohammed should be the future Messiah. He used the passage from Deuteronomy, "I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words into his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all I shall command him" (18:18). Among *their brethren* the author includes not the children of Israel, to whom God at that time gave this promise, but the children of Ismael. (Ismael and Isaac are the sons of Abraham.) When God speaks of the brethren of the children of Ismael from whom they shall call the prophet, there can only be met the descendants of Ismael, and that prophet is therefore Mohammed. The separated tribes of the two forefathers will again unite; that is, Israel will come to Ismael.

Pastor von Oertzen would like to have had a copy of this remarkable book, but our host was unwilling to part with it although the book now had no value for him as he had filled his mind with the skepticism of the West. The former zealot had fully become a man of religious indifference.

Fantastic and materialistic views were now presented to us in the course of the conversation. Characteristic of Persian politics, we learned in what way most officials receive their salaries. As supervisor of the telegraph, Bashir-es Saltan is

required to submit a report from time to time to the *Valī-adh* (crown prince) in Tabriz and to the *Shah* in Teheran concerning all the happenings in the city as well as in the province. And that is not all. Included in his report are the doings of leading personalities and of the governor as well. So it is clear that everyone tries to keep in the good graces of this official. We noticed that the instruments in the telegraph office were all from the firm of Siemens-Halske in Berlin. How delicate and exact the hearing of the oriental is trained to be is shown by the following. The supervisor's private room was separated from the office by a thin wall, yet he was able clearly to distinguish the messages from his room.

On the third day after our arrival, our traveling companion, Pastor Wolff, left for Saqqiz and the Jews there. We were obliged to remain for a few days to secure an interpreter. . . . On the day before our departure, the postmaster engaged for us a customs officer. He was a *mirza,* and not only could he write and speak the necessary languages—Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish—but he was also a well traveled and an experienced man. He knew the vicinity of Hamadan and Kermanshah and had been to Mecca. For us it was especially advantageous that our friend was no fanatic Moslem but a follower of the Babi's, a sect widely dispersed throughout Persia and in effect a transition from Islam to Christianity. In this *mirza* the Lord had provided a man suited to our needs as an interpreter and guide. Later we will have frequent opportunity to describe him and his interesting experiences.

Our Mirza (as we shall now call him) had no difficulty in securing horses for us to ride and for carrying our baggage. So on the eleventh day we could resume our journey and proceed by way of Sa'in Qal'ah and Bijar to Hamadan.

IV. From Sa'uj Bulaq to Hamadan

Our next destination was to be the city of Sa'in Qal'ah, east of Sa'uj Bulaq. On the way, we wished to stop in Ghoshabad[5] to visit in the home of a baptized *sheikh.* (Here it may be noted that the Kurdish tribes of Persia are separated from other Persians by religious differences. They belong to the orthodox Sunni, while the latter belong to the Shi'a branch of Islam. Mecca is considered to be their sacred city; and thither they are obliged by the Koran to make a pilgrimage at least once in their lifetime. Also the higher spiritual offices are different. Among the Persian Kurds, every tribe gathers around a spiritual leader, the *sheikh.* He is not invested with an office but is himself a religious figure and often has thousands of followers; whereas the head of the Shi'ites is the chief *mullah* or *mujtahid,* whose office may be taken from him and given to another. The *sheikh* has power to make religious rules and regulations and is considered a holy man with the right to forgive sins, although there are few *sheikhs* actually so honored.)

5 Ghoshabad (Gosabat in the MS.) is the only site along the route which I have been unable to locate. Professor George G. Cameron has suggested in a letter that the village may well have been called *Ghoshabad,* "although it is by no means impossible that some villager merely said 'welcome!'"

Baba, sheikh of Ghoshabad, is secretly a Christian, and perhaps for this reason the Kurds of Sa'uj Bulaq think little of him and openly call him a hypocrite. As a matter of fact, one does not know really whether he belongs to the Babi's or to the Christians. Our Mirza spoke enthusiastically of him and told us that the *sheikh* had thousands of followers. He seemed to consider him one of his own sect, the *Bahai's* ("people of light," as the Babists call themselves). As we arrived, the *sheikh* received us in front of his house. We were shown into a room and there (as meanwhile we had been joined by some Mohammedans) he greeted us by kissing us on both cheeks.

The *sheikh* Baba presented an imposing appearance, a man of inbred, princely dignity. His clothing was simple, but he wore a jeweled silver belt, adorned with Arabic inscriptions. His Kurdish villagers greeted him whenever he came out of the house by bowing low and kissing his hands or his belt, while with solemn dignity the *sheikh* murmured blessings over them.

He invited us to supper, where his wife also joined us. We four sat in a circle on a rug. The windows were open, and in the open door stood man- and maid-servants. The *sheikh* asked Pastor von Oertzen to say the blessing in Turkish. Both the *sheikh* and his wife ate the same food as we and took pieces of meat from our plates, apparently to show us that they shared the food with us. (A strict Mohammedan would never do this.)

The *sheikh* spoke openly of the Gospel and of the Lord Jesus. He showed us photographs of himself with a copy of the Bible in his hand and said that he had partaken of Holy Communion. He spoke of the ignorance of the Kurds in spiritual things but assured us that slowly their eyes would be opened that they might come into the true way. Then he unfolded his plans, how under his protectorate one could erect a school among his people, perhaps also a hospital. We exercised great caution in speaking with him, as in the development of his plans his own personality was ever put into the foreground. Before we parted, the *sheikh* requested Pastor von Oertzen to say an evening prayer.

As we went to our lodgings, strange thoughts overwhelmed us, relieved though we were to get out under the clear sky and exchange our views of this remarkable man. After what we had experienced, it was really hard to form a correct judgment. The more we considered what we had seen and heard, the more, alas, were we convinced that we dealt with one who in secret was inclined to Christianity but was not fully won over. Except for the position of the wife in the home, his surroundings were fully Mohammedan. In his village the times of prayer were called as in all other places. There was thus no outward indication that the ruler of Ghoshabad was a Christian. Later we were somewhat enlightened in this matter by our Mirza. All that the *sheikh* had said to us during the course of the evening was so carefully chosen, even to the mention of the person of Jesus, that even our Babi could agree to it. Before retiring we read in our New Testament with the Mirza.

Next morning we started at 7 o'clock in order to reach Sa'in Qal'ah by evening. The way led easterly over mountains and valleys. We came to a broad

river—in places ten meters deep and plentiful in fish—the Tatavi. Here and there were growths of trees, but on the whole, the country was thinly populated and we saw few villages. We forded the river.

We fell to conversing over the events of the previous evening and from our obliging Mirza learned more about the Babi's. As mentioned before, our friend had traveled widely and had learned much of the customs and ways of his people. For seven years he had lived the life of a *dervish* and had undergone all the discipline of his calling. He had visited Mecca and by this pilgrimage was made a *hadji*. He had been in combat, lost an eye, and a bullet had pierced his lungs. For a long time he had lain sick in a Persian hospital; but he recovered, and influenced by a dream he had turned away from Mohammedanism to Babism. From that time on he became happier and was more at peace, his tranquillity increasing the more he was taken by the love of God. As a full-fledged Babist, the scriptures of the Old Testament and especially of the New have much meaning for him. He prays freely, not merely the stated prayers of the Koran, as is the practice of the Mohammedans; and with them he observes the same fasts and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Among the Babists, women are given much more freedom: they are not veiled, and one may choose her husband and meet him before marriage.

This inner separation between Islam and Babism would be more apparent were the Babists not permitted to hold their convictions in secret. Outwardly, a Babist may be a zealous follower of the Sunni or the Shi'a branch of Islam. The most important thing lacking, however, is the Cross of Christ; and although they speak of redemption and salvation, it is mostly from the darkness of their understanding. Their teachings are written in a book, but the ordinary adherent may not have a copy of it in his possession. Our Mirza promised to get the book for us, but he always made excuses for not fulfilling his word. . . .

The way now led southeast through a barren, mountainous country. Late in the afternoon we met small companies traveling from the village of Dash Kasan near Sa'in Qal'ah. There, as the name indicates, stone is cut—building blocks, pillars, and especially mill-stones. The last are brought up to Sa'uj Bulaq and even as far as Urmia. The freighting of mill-stones is very difficult, as wagons or railways are lacking. To transport one of these, a pole is first passed through the stone, the leader taking the longer end in his hand, a mule or horse being hitched to the shorter end. The stone is then slowly rolled along. It goes well enough on level ground, but on hilly roads or up steep places the ascent must be made by tracing out a zigzag course. By European standards, such stones would be all but priceless when they reached their destination; but in the Orient the labor of man and beast to transport them is considered of little value. . . .

Sa'in Qal'ah (which we reached on the thirteenth day of our journey) is a considerable town in the midst of a Mohammedan population. Only a few Jews and three Armenian families live there. The bazaar, arched over a broad street, is well built and quite new. There we met an Armenian, a box-maker by trade, whom we should scarcely have recognized as his head was shaven and dyed in

the Mohammedan fashion. (Mohammedans dye their hair red, especially the beard, as the Prophet is supposed to have had red hair.) The Armenian greeted us with a few phrases in his native tongue.

For our further journey, our Mirza received from the governor a special writ for our protection. We had not the intention to ask for it, but we found it of value as otherwise the people would have refused us lodging and food. The day was very hot, and the sun burned down on the desolate country. We passed places where the earth showed a greenish, sometimes a reddish color. By noon we reached our quarters at Sanjud, a village beautifully situated in a valley next to a mountain wall. That little valley was an oasis in the desert and delighted us with its charm. One water-mill stood next to the other. The Persian water-mill is very simply built. Sometimes constructed of brick, it is usually no more than a low mud-house with a flat roof. The water is led into the mill through a hollowed-out log. Our stay was not pleasant. We had been warned that in that part of the country there is a kind of insect whose bite is sometimes poisonous. We had found a comparatively good lodging, but when we got up the next morning we discovered that we had been bitten by these creatures. I had five bad bites, which left their marks five or six months.

The next day our way led southeast and upwards to a high plateau where we began a very interesting mountainous route, the highest reached on our journey. We turned eastward and again north through ravines and narrow passes. The midday sun reflecting from the rocks was almost unbearable, in spite of our light clothing. We traversed the Mayin Bulaq Pass, and as we came out on the other side an icy north wind met us. The view was very impressive, but its beauty was considerably lessened for us because of the extreme cold (altitude, 2230 meters). We found refuge from the wind in a tea-house and refreshed ourselves with several glasses of hot tea. In an easterly direction we descended 200 meters to our quarters at Gug Aghach ("blue wood"). The place was crowded with caravans, but we found a good room, furnished with rugs. Especially interesting was a square outside the town, where grain was threshed and cleaned in the ancient manner. The grain was first piled about a post, then around it ten or twelve oxen were driven, stamping out the grain with their feet. Naturally they kept eating while walking around, after the manner of the biblical injunction, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn." The people stood by with shovels and threw the grain toward the wind. In the streets we saw women going unveiled, although they were not Kurdish. We noticed that they were tattooed on the forehead, nose, and chin. And here again, even in our good quarters, we were badly bitten.

From this village we should have traveled southeast to reach the great caravan road to Bijar. But we turned eastward to visit the ruins of Takht-i-Sulaiman, near the village of Ahmadabad. . . . In Ahmadabad (which village we reached after a ride of five hours) we were for the first time in Kurdish lodgings; here the people did not understand Turkish. (A Kurdish village is usually situated on a hill or mountainside and may be distinguished from Turkish or Persian villages

in that it contains no trees. Because of the cold climate, the houses and especially the stables are often partly below the surface of the earth, so that it happens at times that one rides over the roofs of houses. Often we heard shouts warning us to keep away from the openings which are at the same time chimneys.)

The Kurds received us kindly. Our lodgings were in a house that boasted two small windows—without panes, of course. Soon it was filled with the inhabitants of the village, all of them curious to see the foreigners, until at length we were obliged to request our host to shut the door to keep away our many visitors. We used the word for "kinsmen" to address the people, as *qurt*, similar to *Kurd*, means "wolf." We were astonished to find among the Kurds some with blond hair and blue eyes, as most of the population is dark.

After a short noon-rest, we started for the ruins of Takht-i-Sulaiman. The way led north to a high plateau, gradually rising. The mountain before us appeared to be an extinct volcano. To the left we saw a crater-opening; the road was covered with lava and sounded hollow and metallic to our tread. We came upon numerous hot springs of salt-tasting water. These left deposits often a meter in height. After riding for about an hour, we could see the ruins, situated upon a rocky plateau. When we came nearer, it was evident that the plateau had been widened and surrounded by a wide, strong wall of brick and stone. There were still some gates to be seen. Within the walls was a very large courtyard, where were the ruins of former buildings, now standing roofless. The large water basin in the middle of the courtyard was impressive—about 50 meters in circumference and still well preserved. From it channels led in all directions. On both sides of the main building appeared smaller ones, a subterranean archway, a single pillar of another building. At the top of the walls were inscriptions, apparently from the Koran, in ancient Arabic characters. We were surprised to find, in the half-ruined arch of a smaller building, pillars of sandstone on the lower stone of which a cross had been carved, with a letter which resembled K. This monogram, filling a stone about a meter square, indicates that the ruin, Takht-i-Sulaiman, must have been an ancient Christian cloister. Indeed, the whole complex points to a Christian origin of very ancient times.[6] The situation is excellent, affording a fine view over

6 Takht-i-Sulaiman is perhaps best known as the site of an ancient fire-temple (where Adhargushasp, the sacred fire of Adharbayjan was worshiped since mythical times) and of the great Parthian citadel of Phraata which resisted Mark Antony's siege in the Armenian campaign in 36 B.C. The Roman disaster marked the limit to the eastward ambitions of the Roman Empire. An account of the siege and the subsequent retreat to the Araxes River is described in Plutarch's *Life of Mark Antony*. Our travelers mistook the decoration of a lintel for a Christian symbol. A photograph of the doorway, published by Donald N. Wilber, "The Parthian Structures at Takht-i-Sulayman," *Antiquity* XII (1938), clearly shows that the design is purely decorative and not a monogram. The basin referred to is actually a lake, fed by eternal springs and never varying in level. Situated at an elevation of some 8,000 feet on the flat top of the mountain, it has invited settlement from prehistoric to Islamic times. In historical times it was never known to have been taken outright in war and it fell to the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius in the seventh century A.D. only for want of defenders. The city was renamed Ganzaca by the Byzantine rulers and survived well into the early Islamic period, as is shown by architectural remains from the eighth or ninth century A.D.

fruitful valley; and the vicinity, under the protection of the cloister, must have been rich and flourishing. (The natives say that this was one of Solomon's palaces, an attribution which is obviously false.) It is well known that the East Syrians from the time of Nestorius (A.D. 431) until the fourteenth century found refuge in the Persian empire, where they attained great prosperity and established many cloisters and seminaries. Their missionaries penetrated the bordering countries; they carried the Christian faith to the Tartars, and their influence extended even to India and China. Then under Timur [Tamerlane, A.D. 1336-1404] a great flood of Tartars destroyed this flourishing Christian life. . . .

On the second day, in Khushmaqam, south of Takan Tepe (where we had spent the night) we lodged with Jews. As the village was large and had a bazaar, they had their own quarter. Our room was large and light, thickly carpeted. The host received us kindly but refused us food because it was the Sabbath. The bazaar was closed, and nothing could be bought. We begged him to give us at least some grapes and melons, as we had had nothing to eat since breakfast. But he remained firm and insisted upon waiting until the Sabbath was over before he would give us anything to eat. So we had to wait out the two hours until sundown. From Khushmaqam we left the province of Azerbaijan. The way rose gradually, and when we reached an altitude of 500 meters above Sa'uj Bulaq we overtook a large caravan of pilgrims. From Sanjud onward we had from time to time kept with this company.

Somewhat south of Baghdad lies the city of Karbala, a place of pilgrimage for the Shi'ites because the bones of Husein, the son of 'Ali, rest there. (Even before the death of 'Ali and of his second son Husein, the split developed among the followers of Mohammed, whence arose the two sects, the Sunni and the Shi'a. When the battle near Karbala took place, Husein was conquered and killed by his enemies and buried there. His followers, the Shi'ites, then separated themselves entirely from the followers of Sunni and the two factions lived as bitter enemies. Besides Mecca, the city of Karbala came to be considered sacred to the Shi'ites, whither tradition prescribes that each believer shall make the pilgrimage at least once in his lifetime.) On the anniversary of Husein's death, in the autumn, the mourning processions take place, the participants slashing their heads with swords. On all the roads southward to Kermanshah throngs of pilgrims from all parts of Persia and from all classes of the population are to be met on the stony roads

The site is not easy of access and is infrequently visited. Henry Rawlinson, the famed nineteenth century editor and translator of Herodotus, offered the first detailed description of the site in "Notes on a Journey from Tabriz . . . , with a Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana," *Journ. Royal Geogr. Soc.*, X (1841), 46 ff. In 1937 a preliminary survey of the surface remains was undertaken and the results of that expedition are reported briefly by Arthur U. Pope, Donald N. Wilber, *et al.* in the *Bull. of the Amer. Inst. for Iranian Art and Arch.*, V (1937), 71-109, with plans and photographs, and in the *Illustrated London News* for Feb. 26, 1938. A spectacular aerial view of the site appears in Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, pl. 87. Twenty Parthian, Sasanian, early and middle Islamic structures have been noted, but there is nothing known at the present time to indicate a Nestorian or Christian building or occupation. The site, however, has not been excavated.

and sunny plains. From a distance one can hear the bells of the donkeys. The women, who have to be veiled on the journey and may not be seen much by the men, are carried two by two in the so-called *kajava,* a sort of box closely curtained and hung on the sides of the mule. In this narrow cage the poor women and little children must make the arduous journey which often lasts two months. At the head of every train, on horseback, rides the so-called *fanj,*[7] carrying a banner. He announces to those they meet the purpose of the journey. He sings out in a monotonous melody, at the close of which the whole company joins in harmony. . .

After nine hours in the saddle, we arrived in Bijar at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the seventeenth day of our journey.

Bijar is considerably larger than Sa'uj Bulaq, but it lacks the beautiful situation in the mountains. Here we decided to take a day's rest, as we had traveled for nine successive days since leaving Sa'uj Bulaq. The population of the city is mixed. We noted a striking difference between the Tartar Turks and the Persians. The former are of middle stature, strongly built, square faces with high cheek bones; the Persian is slender, short, slight, oval faced, with somewhat feminine features.

In the afternoon a *fakir* visited us, and Pastor von Oertzen conversed with him for about an hour. Our Mirza, who had himself been a *dervish,* proved to be a good interpreter, as the pastor was versed in Turkish but not in Persian. We learned that the life of a *fakir* is concerned with "salvation by good works." By denying himself comfort and the enjoyments of life, the *fakir* or *dervish* thinks he will rise step by step until after decades of self-struggle he reaches the summit of holiness. His life is considered to be a journey (*safar*) and he who seeks after God is called a pilgrim (*salik*). He who wishes to go this way enters as a pupil (*murid*) and is named a *salik* by the leader of the sect. Thereafter his whole life is one of submission, until he comes to a knowledge of God. There are as a rule seven stages, the promotions being made by the head of the order, the *sheikh*. [*There follows a description of the seven steps, omitted here.*]

Pastor von Oertzen sought to ask our friend whether such a life could actually result in union with God. But in a single conversation it would be hard to convince a fanatical *fakir* that his efforts to win his own salvation are all in vain.

From Bijar on we had a good road. It gradually ascended in a southeasterly direction. A sharp wind from the northeast chilled us. We had to stop at noon for rest in a tea-house. But our stay was very unpleasant. A thing we had never met with in our province of Azerbaijan was here openly to be seen in all the tea-houses, namely, the vice of opium-smoking. Along the walls crouched hollow-cheeked figures, sucking in the poison through the little porcelain pipes. Others lay on the floor asleep. And there were other vices to be seen along the holy pilgrim road. Now we could understand what our Mirza meant in saying that of all the pilgrims only one-fourth returned from Karbala. The rest were lost.

7 The *fanj* is the symbolical figure of a human hand with outstretched fingers, called the "hand of 'Ali." It is made of brass or copper and forms the finial of the standard which is borne before religious or pilgrim processions of the Shi'ites.

But that is not considered a misfortune, for to whomsoever dies on a pilgrimage the door of paradise stands open. . . .

To reach Hamadan, we now turned south from the main road and ascended a high plateau. We were at an altitude of 1,800 meters and were crossing the great plain which lies before Hamadan, the broadest we had seen in Persia. It rose higher to an elevation of 2,170 meters. On the wide steppe the heat was intense; we suffered in our warm winter clothing.

The next day, we saw on the distant horizon the massive mountain range, Kuh-i-Alwand. We could not yet distinguish Hamadan, which lay at the foot of the Alwand, obscured by fog. At the right, near the mountains, the land was cultivated and there were villages; to the left, as far as the horizon, there was only steppe or pasture land with large herds. As we were away from the caravan road, we passed through no villages. In the time of ancient Ecbatana the plain we were now traversing must surely have been the scene of Persian cavalry maneuvers.

About 4 o'clock we rode into Hamadan. It was Oct. 2, the twenty-fourth day of our journey. We had been riding daily on an average of six to eight hours, including the noon-rest. From Sa'uj Bulaq to Hamadan, the journey had taken fourteen days, including one day's rest. [*In Hamadan they are received by two German apothecaries through the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Hawkes, of the American Mission, who further supplies them with the comfort of makeshift beds. Pastor von Oertzen and the servant begin to show the first signs of illness.*]

V. Hamadan

Where today the city of Hamadan stands was formerly the capital of the Median empire, Ecbatana. But of those ancient times nothing is visible within the city. A little outside, near some hills, we saw remains of a former mighty wall, but this may be of later date. In the mountains are remains of old sculptures, including a Persian lion.

Within the city, the only architectural monument of former times is the so-called grave of Queen Esther, which stands in an open square. It is a simple structure with a large, domed roof. An old Jew with lighted candle conducted us through. From the vestibule one passes through a small opening into the chamber, where beneath the domed ceiling stand two sarcophagi, constructed of what seems to be ebony, richly carved. Round about are inscriptions in Hebrew. Beside the sarcophagus of Queen Esther stands that of her uncle Mordecai. Archaeologists question the validity of the grave site, as the inscriptions date from Christian times. The sarcophagi themselves are said to have been erected by wealthy Jews in the eleventh century.[8]

8 Of the "tomb of Esther" and the sarcophagi, Ernst Herzfeld points out that the oldest part is the underground tomb-chamber and the two wooden cenotaphs, of which one is old, of the Mongol period, and the other reputed to be a modern copy of the original. He dates the former no earlier than A.D. 1291 and identifies the monument as properly the tomb of Queen Suzan, who founded the Jewish colony in Hamadan in the fourth century A.D. See *Arch. Hist. of Iran* (London, 1935), 105-106 and pl. 30.

There are many Jews in Hamadan; perhaps a thousand families among the 20,000 inhabitants. Until a short time ago, Jews were required to wear as a sign a shield on the breast. This rule, put through the government by an influential Persian out of hatred toward the Jews, was lifted through the efforts of the Alliance Irsaélite. Founded in Paris in 1860, the Alliance serves to strengthen Jewry, especially in the Orient. Recently it has sent teachers to Hamadan who have opened a school. Other schools have been opened in Sinnah, the capital of Kurdistan, and in Isfahan; and plans are made for Kermanshah and possibly Urmia, for many Jews reside there. As great wealth is available, the schools are well equipped, and much the same subjects are taught in them as in the mission schools. The schooling is free. In Hamadan, the American Mission received a severe blow. It lost three-fourths of its pupils, for the Jews saw to it that the same schooling was provided free, without instruction in Christianity. The Alliance schools now have 500 pupils. Also the Jewish-Christian congregation which the Americans have organized in addition to their Armenian congregation has lost in numbers. The director, the Rev. Mr. Hawkes, who came to Hamadan as a missionary twenty years ago, told us of their hard fate.

Armenians are better represented in the villages. They have lost their national character in that they now speak Persian. Very few know Armenian at all. Among them the Americans have a flourishing work. They have their own church, which is well attended by both Armenians and Mohammedans. In their school a great number of young Armenians are being educated. We attended an examination in which they showed considerable proficiency. There was much study of English. . . .

A very interesting person whom we visited in Hamadan was the Mirza Saïd, a baptized Mohammedan. Mirza Saïd knew how to win respect not only from the Christians but from those of his former faith. He told us the story of his life—how he was born a Kurd at Sinnah and how, when he became converted and was baptized, he had to leave his native city. For years his brother, armed with a gun, followed him, intending to kill him. But finally Mirba Saïd succeeding in converting his fanatical brother. To us, this baptized Kurd was a shining example of how it is possible through the Lord's mercy, even under the present difficult circumstances, to find an open door and to penetrate into the Mohammedan world. There could be no better witness to the Mohammedans than that the much feared Kurdish tribes should be reached by the gentle power of the Gospel.[9]

On account of the high altitude, the climate of Hamadan is said to be very healthful. . . . An unpleasant feature here is the almost constant fog. Water is very bad, and one has to be careful about eating melons. Those who come to Hamadan from lower altitudes usually get sick; but for those who are acclimated, the location is healthful.

The bazaar is large and well built and offers many wares from Europe. Native products include copper and leather ware. Famous also are the small

9 "Mirza Saïd," whose full name is Dr. Saïd Kahn Kurdistani, was, at the time of his death some ten years ago, widely known and highly regarded throughout Persia. His biography, *The Beloved Physician of Teheran,* has been written by I. M. Yonan (Nashville, 1934).

silver teaspoons with their beautiful filigree work whose pattern is copied in other places.

But Hamadan is held among us in unpleasant memory. The first night there, I suffered a high fever, with indications of malaria. Also Pastor von Oertzen took ill the next afternoon, and we both had a bad night. The following day Mr. Hawkes visited me and brought the American physician. When they left to fetch the medicine, two Jews were announced. I allowed them to come to my bedside. An old Jew, of impressive appearance with long white beard, entered, followed by another, somewhat younger. (Here it is to be noted that the Jews in the Orient are of especially handsome appearance. We liked to look upon these splendid, patriarchal figures in the streets of the bazaars.) The old man drew near and at my request greeted me in Turkish. Then he said, "The God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob be merciful unto you and make you well of your sickness."

I was moved by the kind sympathy of the ancient greeting and readily told him my name. Then his companion drew out a piece of parchment from his pocket, wrote something on it and laid it, with some unintelligible words, apparently in Hebrew, on my bed. Later, upon the return of the pastor and our host, we discovered that the parchment was inscribed with conjuring words. It was the evening before the Feast of Tabernacles, and at that time the Jews go about selling such parchments. (This paper was later returned to them.) When my medicine came, toward noon, the fever had gone and I could get up; but intermittent attacks were to recur throughout our trip.

We remained in Hamadan seven days. Although it was the beginning of October, we had to put on light clothing again because of the heat. Our skin was badly burnt by the sun and peeled off our face, neck, ears, and lips. In these warm days the Jews had no difficulty in living out-of-doors in their booths, which they had set up in the courtyards of their houses.

An amusing incident occurred the evening before our departure. We were sitting with our host when suddenly a loud noise was heard. Men, women, and children screamed. Amid the shouting, guns sounded, followed by the firing of cannon. Frightened, we climbed through the windows to the roof to ascertain the cause of the tumult. The wife of our host's servant told us in great excitement that the moon had disappeared and that the Devil was about to make off with it. For that reason the people must drive him away with shouts and gunfire, for which purpose the governor had lent his cannon. As a matter of fact, the frightened little woman seemed to be right, for soon the moon began to shine peacefully. (In the calendar for the day, an eclipse of the moon was to be noted.) The people here are very fearful and superstitious.

VI. From Hamadan to Kermanshah

On Oct. 10, the thirty-second day of our journey, we left Hamadan and rode west along the foot of the Alwand. [*The route now passes through Zagha, then southwest to Asadabad, where the company halts to rest. To escape the heat, they*

decide to travel by night and set out accordingly at 3:30 the next morning for Kangavar, where they meet a caravan.]

The second night, at 2:30, we left Kangavar and traveled with the caravan. It was a very romantic ride, the country brightly lighted by the moon high in the heavens. Moonlight in the Orient is so very bright that one can well appreciate the words of the Psalm, "The sun shall not smite thee by day, nor the moon by night." Especially lovely was the effect of the moonlight in a deep ravine, full of boulders. Like ghosts, the lines of pilgrims appeared and vanished among the rocks and crags. From time to time pilgrim songs broke the stillness. The air was mild and pleasant. But it was a bad night for us. Even as we started, my fever returned and grew worse as we traveled. Half an hour before we reached our quarters, Pastor von Oertzen suffered severe heartburn, so we feared we should have to stop by the way. Fortunately we could already see the town of Sahnah ahead. Slowly and with great difficulty we traveled on and reached the village at 9 o'clock. But here were further difficulties. As the throngs of pilgrims had preceded us, every lodging was taken, and many pilgrims had put up their tents. We were happy at length to find refuge in a vineyard among some fruit trees. A brook flowed through the garden, so we had water for our horses. We found a shady place, tied the horses to the trees, and lay down upon our rugs until the sun creeping around awakened us. We had to spend the whole day in the vineyard and the night in the little vineyard-house. It was low, without windows, of mud-brick; but there the Lord granted us a good rest.

When we arose at 3 o'clock the next morning, my friend's pains were gone, but we both had fever and felt very weak. We resolved to travel on, remembering the advice of an experienced Persian traveler never on account of fever to remain in the villages. He had learned from experience that the result was not an improvement but a slackening of physical strength. And really, only by strictly following his advice was it possible, on later stages of our journey, to make any progress at all and to reach Urmia before collapsing utterly. . . .

With the rising sun we could better recognize the country. We passed numerous rice and cotton fields. Before us rose a steep mountain. An especially prominent, wildly clefted dome caught our attention. More closely observed, it looked as if it had been formed by the piling up of boulders. We had reached the Cliff Bisitun, Mount Bagistanus of the ancient writers. It is the mountain of the famous bas-relief of Darius I, King of Persia [521-485 B.C.]. We had first to encircle the mountain before we could see, in a depression in the cliff, the bas-relief itself, carved in a wall of rock, high above on the left.

First we rode into the village of Bisitun, which lies at the foot of the mountains, to secure our lodgings. In the afternoon we made our way on foot to the cliff. Arrived there, we had to climb a long way over large rocks, till we came to the base of the cliff in which the bas-relief is chiseled. King Darius had passed this way on his return from Babylon. He or rather his skilled workmen well knew how to carve out an enduring monument to his name, at a site well chosen to resist the destructive influence of weather and of men for now some 2,400

years. A large, flat surface had been cut into the rock to such a depth as to form a ledge upon which a man could stand. Then the figures and the inscriptions were further protected from the weather by the projecting rock above and at the sides. With field glasses we could plainly see all the details of the sculpture. The work showed great skill and was well preserved.

At the left on a throne sits King Darius, more than life-size; behind his throne are two warriors with lances and bows. Before the king stand nine men in chains, each bound at the neck by a chain reaching to the man ahead and behind. (This method of chaining by neck-bands of iron is still in use in Persia, as we were to see in Kermanshah.) Before Darius kneels the first captive, whom Darius is slaying. The figures of these men are considerably smaller than that of the king. Diagonally over the surface is the sign of the Persian sungod, Ormuzd. Over the head of Darius and the prisoners, and also below them, are cuneiform inscriptions. From our distance we could scarcely see the inscription; without help we could not climb farther. The lower surface is said to be 150 by 100 feet and to contain about 1,000 lines, inscribed in the three languages, Persian, Susianish, and Assyrian.[10]

In the afternoon, as often happens in this region, a strong wind arose. In a short time everything was covered with a thin layer of sand. We could not escape it. Our room was without windows, but the sand penetrated through cracks in the door; outside the town, the pilgrims in their tents fared even worse. As we had only a five hours' ride to Kermanshah, and it had turned cold in the night, we left Bisitun the next morning and rode west over a broad plain. There were few villages. Soon we could see the outlines of the city. Kermanshah lies near a low range of hills, resembling an island amid the wide steppes and grazing land. Presently we could see the rooms and the largest buildings and the slender minarets of the mosques, their metal domes gleaming in the sun. It was exactly midday as we rode through the city-gate and dismounted for the noon hour before the doors of the English bank. The director, Mr. Rabino, received us graciously. He showed how kind a host and experienced a traveler he was in first giving us an opportunity to wash and then serving us a good breakfast.

VII. Kermanshah

With the city of Kermanshah we had reached the most southerly point of our journey. Kermanshah is the most important city of the province of Kermanshahan (shortened form, Kermanshah) and its seat of government. The population is estimated at 40,000, mostly Kurds, partly Sunnite and partly Shi'a. (As noted before, most Kurdish tribes are Sunnite. Here the division is due to the influence

10 The Rock of Bisitun and its famous tri-lingual inscription are well known and need little comment here. A detailed archaeological description with illustrations is given by Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs* (Berlin, 1910), 189-198 and pls. 33-35; Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), 16-23 and pls. 9 f.; and a recent description of the topography and an aerial photograph appear in Schmidt, *Flights over Ancient Cities of Iran*, 81 and pl. 101.

of the city and to the Persians who are generally Shi'ite.) Besides the Kurdish population there are in the city some Syrian families and Jews. Kurdish is commonly spoken, but Persian is also understood. . . .

Kermanshah is the center of pilgrimage from all parts of Persia. It is estimated that yearly 120,000 to 130,000 pilgrims pass through *en route* to Baghdad and Karbala. Of this number some 3,000 come from Baku on the Caspian Sea; others from Kabul in eastern Afghanistan. About 8,000 coffins containing the dead bodies of the faithful are carried each year by caravan route across the border westward from Kermanshah. For this reason the city was formerly full of disease and epidemics; now greater care is exercised and more controls are enforced. . . .

The population of the province consists of Kurds, whose families have dwelt here for many centuries. They are divided into numerous tribes, each having a chief. These have not long been under a central government. According to their numbers and extent, each tribe has to furnish the government with a certain quota of armed cavalry. The two main tribes, Kalhur and Guran, each include about 5,000 families, partly nomadic. Their religion is Ali-Ilahi.

The Ali-Ilahi can hardly be considered Mohammedan as they acknowledge neither the authority of the Prophet nor the Koran, although their name is derived from the Mohammedan and means *Ali il Alaha,* i.e., "Ali is God." They call themselves also by the name of *Kalhur* and trace their origin from Roham or Nebuchadnezzar, the conqueror of the Jews. (In former times the Kalhur tribesmen were considered to be the descendants of the captives from Samaria who were settled in the Assyrian city of Kalhur or Kalhur Haseh.) It is noteworthy that they still have many Jewish names, and their features are Jewish. The faith of the Ali Ilahi's bears a Jewish stamp mixed with Christian and Mohammedan legends. They believe in the incarnation of God in Benjamin, Moses, David, Christ, and lastly Ali. Chief among these is David, whom they invoke in their prayers. They consider each and every one some form of incarnation. It is said that their worship is connected with wild orgies, reminiscent of the cult of Semiramis. But these practices are disappearing.

On account of the similarity of the incarnation doctrine between the Ali Ilahi's and the Babi's, the gruesome and secret cult of the former is apt to be attributed to the latter. Thus in a clever manner the fanaticism of the poorly informed masses is roused against the Babi's. In this light one can, to an extent, account for the recent terrible massacres in Isfahan when many Babi's were blown from cannon. . . .[11]

The nomadic tribe, the Dshaf-Kurds, under the Sheikh Ismael, sends its robber hordes every spring into Persian territory. Formerly subject to Persia, they now acknowledge Turkish supremacy, and it is said that they can muster some 35,000 cavalry. In the neighborhood of Saqqiz, where a mountain pass divides the Turkish-Persian border, these tribes begin their migration into the Persian grazing lands, and from there they spread through all the high valleys

11 These reports were no doubt rumors circulated by the enemies of the Ali-Ilaha sect and have no basis in fact.

between Saqqiz and Sinnah. Toward autumn they turn southward to the neighborhood of Kermanshah, where through the so-called Zagros gate they again sweep back across the border at a point near Khaniqin. Every year the Persian villagers suffer from these migrations, for with them often come plundering attacks. An energetic governor of Kermanshah once resolved to make an end of these raids. He stationed soldiers in the pass through which the herds must go. The herds were driven back, and though many cattle perished for want of pasture, the Persian lands were free of attack. But the chief of the nomads achieved his purpose with money. The Persian government, always in need of money, agreed to accept from the chieftain the tribute of 1 *kran* for every head of cattle. True, at the time of migration, soldiers are stationed in the passes; but the entire region is now, by sanction of law, at the mercy of these nomadic robbers.

In Kermanshah the fanaticism is great because of the pilgrims from whom the populace for the most part derives its living. For example, one day Pastor von Oertzen wished to have a tailor in the bazaar repair his coat. He merely laid it on the table, when at once the tailor flew into a rage because his shop was thereby contaminated. It was not an easy task for our Mirza to quiet his anger. And as no tailor could be found in the whole bazaar to undertake the work, we were obliged to buy the lining materials ourselves and have our Mirza repair the coat.

We intended to stay seven days in Kermanshah, but because we could find no *charvadar* (burden-carrier) we remained a day longer. In Sa'uj Bulaq we had hired a Kurdish *charvadar* to accompany us as far as Hamadan. He offered to continue the rest of the way; but from Kermanshah on, he demanded wages higher than we had agreed upon. Against all protest and entreaty, he held firm; so we let him go. He was a typical Kurd—tall, broad-chested, and possessed of great bodily strength. Almost the entire distance from Sa'uj Bulaq to Hamadan and Kermanshah he went on foot beside his horses. Only when the way was easy did one see him in the saddle. In appetite he surpassed all our servants, and he would eat any left-over portions. He was as good-natured as he was strong: his confidence in us and affection for us was great. Usually tractable and to a certain point easily managed, he would on occasion suddenly become stubborn and troublesome and we could do nothing with him. This happened every time our Mirza paid him, for it was the question of money that changed him completely. Then all his good nature and leniency vanished and there followed argument and quarrels. His greed was finally the cause of our separation. . . .

The governor of Kermanshah, a Persian prince whose wife is a daughter of the *Shah,* is an elderly man. As he had inquired of our welfare, we felt obliged to pay him a visit. He received us, to be sure, very courteously and kindly, but we noticed in him a sort of irritability and discontent. In answer to our inquiries, he told us that he had been in Kermanshah but a few months and that he did not like the province. Particularly troublesome were the robber attacks of the Kurds. In spite of heavy penalties, the raids were not to be stopped; in fact, within the past few days another robber band had been taken captive. The gov-

ernor asked of our destination and declared that he would have to give us the protection of two cavalrymen as far as the border of Kurdistan. Protests were of no avail, for he considered the way and time of year to be very dangerous. As we passed through the courtyard of the government building, those very brigands of which he spoke were being led by. It was a long procession of men, both young and old, bound together by a single long chain which was fastened to iron rings on their necks. As they strode forward the chain swung back and forth. The prisoners tried to decrease this painful movement. It was a sad scene, especially as there were among them so many feeble old men. . . .

VIII. From Kermanshah to Sinnah [Sanandaj]

Up to this time our route had led southward. But from Kermanshah it turned north, each day bringing us nearer home. We were warned to avoid the direct route to Sinnah as it is very steep and difficult; in winter it is quite impassable. There is a more desirable road, used by the mail service and by caravans, but it is more circuitous and tends toward Hamadan. But we were not to be frightened away and chose the shorter route, as it was a question of only a four-days' journey. [*They reach the village of Kaklistan, where they spend the first night.*]

Before sunrise we started again. Our way led over the steppes—no villages, no fields. Good pastures began where we met numerous flocks tended by the nomads. At length we saw their tents, conspicuous in the bright sunlight because of their dark coloring. Seldom were there more than five together, woven of black goat's hair.

In these tents the nomads live the year 'round. Their life is very simple. In the morning they eat a warm soup, called *bushala*. It is made of thick, sour milk with herbs which give it a peculiar aroma. Tea or coffee is considered a great luxury. At midday, they dine upon *ciran* (a sort of thick milk), goat's cheese, and bread; again the same in the evening. Butter is much used, meat seldom. Only when an animal is injured is it butchered. On such occasions all the friends and neighbors come together for a feast. Everything must be eaten, nothing kept over, as they have no way of preserving the fresh meat. As autumn approaches, all the nomads of the Persian steppes begin to migrate from their pasture lands toward Turkey and into Arabia. Horses, donkeys, and oxen are used as pack animals. In the morning all the baggage is loaded. The company progresses one to two *aghadj* (3 hours),[12] the animals are unloaded, and all rest until the following morning. Thus they advance slowly at a pace suitable for the herds.

The next morning, a few hours from the village of Kamyaran, the country became hilly. In a charming ravine, through which a narrow path led along the cliff's edge, we met a company of nomads. It was a pleasant sight to watch the sheep and especially the goats with nimble grace climb along the mountain wall,

12 The word *aghadj* is the Turkish equivalent for *parasang* (familiar to students of Xenophon) and is the Persian measure of distance.

in contrast to the laden oxen, donkeys, and horses. Often we had to take refuge behind great rocks to keep from being crowded to the edge and hurled over the precipice. Looked upon in wonder by the sons and daughters of the desert, we sought our way through the throngs of men and animals. For us, too, it was a rare sight to observe the strong, vigorous figures of the Kurds. The women and girls are not veiled as is customary among the Turks and the Persians. Kurdish women are tall and slender with oval faces and strong, energetic features; and they are no less courageous than the men. We saw a young Kurdish maiden shouldering a gun and leading a riding-horse. In her bearing and movements she displayed the dignity of a princess.

From this ravine we had steep hills to climb. Below us flowed the Gavara River. Our road became a path winding upward along a precipice strewn with great boulders. We reached the summit at 1,930 meters and began the descent into a valley where at last we could discern the village of Fakir Sulaiman, which was to be our quarters.

The next morning, two hours before sunrise, we began the seven-to-eight-hour stage to Sinnah. It was pitch dark as we rode out of the village. Gradually our eyes became accustomed to the darkness. Shortly beyond the village, another steep ascent began, rising in a zigzag course. The pack animals were sent on ahead, and, as we could not distinguish the road, we had to let them go as they would. Only by listening to the sound of the bells of the lead horses could we keep from separating or lagging behind. The way led through towering formations of rock; when we came to the edge we could see below the glitter of water. Meanwhile, Venus had risen in the moonless sky and cast so bright a beam that we could better see our way. Indeed, any light at all was welcome, as now the steep descent lay before us. I can say for myself that my feet trembled in the stirrups on that ride! Many narrow paths led downward, the whole way sown with rocks and boulders. Often the path was like stair-steps and often my horse slid on his forefeet to descend to the next stone. At times he would stop altogether, as if to gain new courage and to find the best path. When we reached the foot of the mountain, dawn was breaking and we could see the mountain wall from below. From there it seemed impossible to have traversed this way on horseback. We had in these days undertaken the most arduous of all our travels in Persia. Our hearts were happy and thankful that our faithful Lord had led us safely. . . .

X. From Sinnah to Saqqiz

Our stay in Sinnah lasted seven days. Before our departure, which was considerably delayed, we fell victim to a bit of Persian intrigue. A few days earlier, we had engaged our *charvadar* at a price of 10 *toman*. The *ferrashbashi* (an official who appoints the military guard and government riders, and who holds a position similar to chief-of-police) offered us one of his men for 8 *toman*. His offer was refused inasmuch as we had already hired a man. We told him our man would insist upon his rights, but the *ferrashbashi* replied that he would arrange matters with him. Our Mirza gave us a sign to give in to the offer, as now our man, out of fear of his superior, would probably not go with us. And as he was

willing to yield, we gave him some money and dismissed him. (Probably that money was in some way pressed out of the poor fellow by the officers.) But when the baggage was to be loaded, such poor horses were brought that we refused them, fearing that they could not get us to Saqqiz. Others were brought, not much better, although the *ferrashbashi* had promised to send some of his own riding-horses. When these too were refused, we were given two heavy pack-horses, and I was to ride one of the government mounts. That soldier had to trot along on the pack-horse behind us. He arrived at our quarters late at night, another soldier accompanying him for protection.

As our goal for the next day we set Diwan Darrah, a stage of eight hours. Our escort agreed. But in the course of the day the men made all sorts of delays. Every little while they asked when we were going to find quarters for lodging. Fortunately we noticed their deceit and realized that they had conspired to prolong the journey a day. We insisted on keeping to our original plan and, after an eight-and-a-half-hours' ride, reached the village of Diwan Darrah.

The third day brought us to a small village, where we stopped at the home of the chief man of the town, the *kandkhuda*. It was well that we had the soldiers or government riders with us as well as written credentials from the governor. The soldiers got the necessary barley for the horses, and when the *kandkhuda,* who could not read, found out from the *mullah* the contents of the letter, he became more affable and we were given what we needed. As a true Persian, he did not believe our offers to pay for everything. To make amends he drew out of an old chest a little piece of mutton, more skin and bone than meat. He rubbed it with his unwashed hands, salted it with salt from his pocket, and proceeding to the fireplace he stirred up a bright fire and fastened the mutton in place. The flames leaped up and soon set the meat to sputtering. But in some way it came unfastened and to our relief fell into the fire. But our host did not give up. The women were summoned to come with hooks and forks to fish out the meat from the fire. Meanwhile, the little son of the *kandkhuda* slipped in to watch. At last the piece of mutton appeared, burned black and covered with ashes. Saying not a word, the father put it into the boy's hand, and the lad to the envy of his little sister quietly trotted off with his rare booty.

The *kandkhuda* proved to be a very pious man. In our presence he took the shawl which he wore around his shoulders, spread it out for a rug, and on it said the appointed prayers, sometimes in loud tones, sometimes only in murmurs —he all the while assuming the different postures of prayer, standing, kneeling, or prostrate, and touching his forehead three times to the ground. But it did not disturb him to break off in the midst of his devotions to speak to some one in Kurdish and in the next breath to proceed with his prayers in Arabic as if there had been no interruption.

The warm days were coming to an end. The raw climate of Kurdistan was evident. It was of course already the beginning of November, and we were ascending into the mountains. The high plateau on which we were traveling had reached an elevation of 2,000 meters. On the fifth day we passed what was said

to be a robber village. Our government rider told of his experiences with Kurdish attacks. But we got through safely.

At a somewhat larger village we entered the province of Azerbaijan. Now at last we were in our home province, a fact to be noted in the greater frequency of tea-houses in the village. Thoughts of soon being home in Urmia awakened in us. . . .

XII. From Saqqiz to Urmia

On November 16 we began our homeward journey. Our company agreed that we should travel slowly each day, just sufficient to reach some kind of lodging by nightfall. . . .

In spite of the good road, we could proceed only very slowly. After three and a half hours we reached a village. We asked for a place to spend the night, but the young man, son of the *khan* (lord of the village), replied, "My father has a large house in Teheran; but there, as here, is no room for *farangi*" (a word used to denote European Christians, derived from "Frank"). As he had spoken openly in the street and before all, it was of course impossible for us to find lodgings within the village.

Over a little hill covered with volcanic rock we rode on. After an hour we came to a small place, the village of Kuchak Khawaru. Again we had our Mirza ask for quarters. This time we could see him leading his horse into the courtyard. When we reached the house, the people were already standing there to greet us. We were shown into a room with fine rugs. A dignified old man approached and introduced himself as the *khan* of the village, Hadji Agha Sulaiman. He inquired kindly of our welfare and apologized that he could not offer the sick man a better room on account of the many guests in his house. He ordered his sons—tall Kurdish youths—to bring cushions and blankets, and warm milk for our patient; while a fire was kindled and an excellent meal set before me. After the meal the sick-bed was prepared. A soft mattress was spread out on the floor and covered with a white sheet, a luxury among these people. Several times during the evening this kind old man came in to inquire as to the pastor's condition and to ascertain our wishes. His sons accompanied him, but they stood, as I remember, throughout the visit, except when he gave them permission to be seated.

(It is the custom in the Orient, out of respect to the father, that the son ask permission of his father to be seated. He may not enter into conversation in his father's presence without permission. Also every youth, even a lad of ten years, is required to show a certain dignity and seriousness in the presence of guests and to answer their questions with special courtesy. If the father is not at home, his son shall take the father's place and receive or refuse strangers or guests as his father would do. In receiving them he has to do the honors, as if the father were speaking, and exchange the customary expressions of courtesy in which this language abounds.)

Next morning, the *khan* and his sons rode with us a short distance toward the village of Bukan. [*There the travelers are refused the loan of a much needed*

wagon; the second day finds them on the heights above Ghoshabad, riding into an icy wind.] Slowly we advanced on the high plain, no tree or bush or house to be seen. Only on the far horizon towered the snowy peaks of the Tabriz range and the mountains of the Russian border. What a change of weather and scenery had taken place since last we passed this way two months ago! The afternoon was waning, as was the strength of my sick companion. I was much troubled to note that my watch showed that it was now the seventh hour that we had been riding.

[*In Ghoshabad they are received in the home of the* sheikh; *then advancing toward Sa'uj Bulaq, they catch sight of the blue-green waves of Lake Urmia, like a greeting from home. On November 19, the seventy-second day, they reach Sa'uj Bulaq and there rest at the home of the Mirza, who now offers to accompany them to Urmia.*]

One afternoon in Sa'uj Bulaq a tall, broad-shouldered Kurd, well dressed, visited us. After looking at him for some time, we recognized our first *charvardar,* Mamchidit. He was still much the same and rejoiced like a child to see us. He proudly told us his story. Since leaving us in Kermanshah, he had gone on to Hamadan and a little farther. One of his horses died on the way, so he sold the others and bought new ones. His fortunes prospering, he had bought himself a fine Kurdish suit and had given up his business as a wandering *charvadar.* Now he wished to hire other *charvadars* to transport his goods; for instead of the poor burden-carrier clad in thin, ragged trousers and dirty jacket who followed us on our journey, he had become by Kurdish views a well-to-do man. So sudden a change of status is not uncommon in Persia. An unknown, poor man can, in a short while, climb up to high office. Conversely, over night the most prominent, influential person can be plunged into obscure poverty, his life worth no more than a cup of coffee.

With Sa'uj Bulaq we had completed our circle. Now the same way led home which earlier we had traveled with the *troika.* During these past two months the roads had dried and were now beaten down by the hooves of hundreds of horses and donkeys. The more we descended from the mountains of Sa'uj Bulaq, the stiller and warmer it became. [*They stop with the friends in Mehmandar who had earlier entertained them; then retracing their steps along Lake Urmia, they reach Dashaghil by nightfall; and the last night from Urmia is spent in the village of Gök Tappah, in the home of* Kascha Yaure, *a Syrian priest, where they enjoy the comfort of actual beds, the first on the journey of seventy-six days.*]

Slowly, the next morning, we rode along the fine highway to Urmia, but two hours distant. We might have reached "Dilgusha" the night before, but we deemed it best to arrive in the morning, refreshed, lest the children—who were in such eager expectation of our return—should be alarmed to see their "papa," whom they had seen setting out in the very best of health, now returning home, late at night, a very sick man. So after a ride of two hours we reached "Dilgusha"—on November 24, the seventy-seventh day of our journey. It was a quiet but a most cordial homecoming. The sick-room was prepared and our patient could at once lie down to rest. . . .

This journey of two and one-half months was the most important and in some ways the climax of the many journeys which we made together in Persia. Our purpose was to get an insight into the characteristics of the country and the life of the Moslem peoples outside the province of Azerbaijan. The rich experiences and knowledge gained thereby exceeded our modest expectations, so that we could joyfully acknowledge, "The Lord thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hand: he knoweth thy walking through this great wilderness" (Deut. 2:7).

POSTSCRIPT

[The missionary expedition into Kurdistan bore fruit in the founding of a station at Sa'uj Bulaq, on May 4, 1905, under the directorship of Pastor von Oertzen. He undertook the study of the Kurdish Mukri dialect, prepared a grammar, and in 1908 brought out the Gospel of Mark in Kurdish and a Kurdish reader. The following year he resigned his position and returned to Germany. In the fall of 1904, shortly after this journal was written, my father returned to Germany, by way of the Caucasus and Moscow. The next winter and summer were spent in Basel and at St. Chrishona in Switzerland. When the opportunity then arose to continue his studies in America, he sailed for the New World in December, 1905. He entered Western Theological Seminary, then at Atchison, Kansas, and after graduation and ordination in 1907 (by the German-Nebraska Synod) he might well have carried out his earlier intention to return to Persia. But the needs of new congregations in the West were urgent, and to them he turned his attention. He organized and served as first pastor the congregation of St. Peter's, Auburn, Nebraska (1907-1910). But the cause of missions was ever close to his heart. When the need arose for a synodical director of missions, he accepted the position and served in that office for seventeen years, during which time he labored among mission parishes in an area extending from Montana to Texas, and from Colorado to Missouri. He also held the pastorates of Christus congregation, Shattuck, Oklahoma (1913-1918); and St. John's, southwest of Auburn, Nebraska (1933-1948), where on October 23, 1910, he had been united in marriage to Miss Patty Frances Matthews. His latter years of service to the synod were spent in the office of treasurer, which he held for seventeen years, until shortly before his death on November 25, 1950.—M. I. W.]

Book Reviews and Notices[1]

Christ in the New Testament. By Charles M. Laymon. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 254 pages. $3.50.

In an earlier book, *The Life and Teachings of Jesus,* the author approached the person of Jesus from the historical perspective. The logical next step is an evaluation and interpretation of the evidence yielded by such an historical approach, and this is the aim of the present volume. Dr. Laymon seeks the meaning of Christ in the portraiture which the early church preserved in the New Testament.

The approach is that of "biblical theology" along the lines opened by the important work of Hoskyns and Davey in *The Riddle of the New Testament.* The book begins with a canvass of the sources, in chronological order, recognizing the diversity of emphasis and perspective from book to book. Nevertheless, when the evidence is all in, the unity of mind exhibited by the various books of the New Testament is impressive, as the concluding chapter shows.

The first two chapters set the stage for the rest of the book. Here the following points are made: (1) Christ is known not in abstract or propositional terms but "through personal relationships," (2) Christ, who is the object of the faith of the early church, is inseparable from the historical Jesus, (3) the church, writing after the resurrection and ascension, interprets the portrait of Jesus in terms of the ongoing experience of his presence, and thus her understanding of his significance was a growing and developing thing. The message of the early Christian preaching, and indeed the unity of the New Testament, is precisely this portrait together with its meaning. Christ is not only a messenger and teacher to call men to faith; he is the embodiment of the message and the object of faith.

The author then proceeds chronologically through the New Testament beginning with the portrait preserved in "the primitive church in Acts." Christ is there seen as the living one in vital relationship with the church, in whose name her healing and evangelistic work went forward, to whom her prayers and worship were addressed, and whose blessed presence the church cherished in the sacrament.

The unity of the portrait in the Pauline epistles make a development under topical heads possible. Though one finds in Paul a tendency toward theological discussion (e.g., the pre-existence of Christ), yet it is the risen Lord who is met through experience and faith as Paul develops the meaning of salvation, the church and its sacraments, and eschatology.

The synoptic Gospels are interpreted as reflecting the church's understanding of her Lord in the latter half of the first century when it was engaged in missions, organization, consolidation, catechization, and conflict with Gnosticism. Yet as the church faced each of these challenges it is the same *kerygma* that is brought to bear.

In the Johannine writings the portraiture of Christ is a fine art. "This should not be taken to mean that John regards history lightly. It was important to him that the Word actually became flesh" (p. 151). In the Johannine portrait the divine Logos coming into human history is but a more mature way of expressing the same basic themes that appear in Acts, Paul, and the synoptics.

The other New Testament books are also canvassed for their contribution to the portrait of Christ, and in each case the picture is found to be in harmony with the Christology which informs the New Testament as a whole.

Laymon's concluding chapter might profitably be read both at the beginning and at the end of the book. Here two things come forth clearly: (1) The unity of the New Testament as it focuses in the person of Jesus Christ and finds expression in what Laymon

1 Books reviewed or noticed in these pages may be purchased through your church's publication house.

calls "the final *kerygma*" (i.e., twelve points plus six more which came to be more clearly defined in the course of the church's first century), and (2) the author's own point of view that ". . . the portrait of Christ in the New Testament does not stand apart from the revelation of God in the Scriptures as a whole. The biblical documents are concerned basically, for all their variety, with the same self-revelation of God in creation and redemption. . . . Only as we read the New Testament in relation to God's total revelation in the Scriptures does Christ in his fulness lay hold of us" (p. 230).

If one is looking for startling or novel ideas regarding the person of Christ, this book is not the place to find them. But if one seeks a detailed (sometimes even repetitious) examination of the New Testament and a collection of the statements about Christ, this book will come close to filling the bill. To be sure, there are statements which will raise questions or challenge one to seek for profounder insights, but even this is a service. The extensive bibliography, the three indexes (biblical references, non-canonical references, and subjects), and the summaries at the ends of the chapters, all add to the book's usefulness.

HARRY J. MUMM

A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke. By A. R. C. Leaney. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 300 pages. $4.00.

The dust jacket of this volume of the new Harper's Commentaries series leads the reader to expect the best commentary in English—in fact, one unsurpassed in any language. This expectation is definitely not fulfilled. The major fault lies with the format. Oddly enough, many things about the format are good: a seventy-five page introduction deals stimulatingly with key questions of literary criticism; almost the entire work is readily usable by those without a knowledge of Greek; and an accurate translation serves as the basis for the comments on each section. The real difficulty is simply lack of adequate space. In 200 5" x 8" pages of pleasantly readable type there just is not room enough for a commentary on Luke's Gospel that is thorough enough to be at all satisfying, much less when 90 pages are taken up by the translation alone. To cite one of the worst cases, the comments on a chapter of such importance as Luke 15 occupy less space than the translation of the chapter.

Leaney's exegetical notes are often masterpieces of insight and (perhaps by necessity) of brevity, but questions with which a commentary may rightfully be expected to deal are continually skipped for lack of space.

The introduction is in many respects the best part of the volume. Leaney displays his familiarity with scholarly literature, and yet the reader is neither burdened with lists of names and opinions nor annoyed by pages where the footnotes bulk larger than the text. The stress is predominantly on matters of literary criticism, mainly Luke's special sources and their characteristics. Issues such as the pros and cons of Q are well presented, but matters of Form are almost totally passed over. Some lack of balance is indicated when a two-source theory of the Infancy Narratives receives eight pages in a work of this limited size. Luke's theology is dealt with in only four pages which take the basic theme as being the reign of Christ, analyzed here in two aspects: the "royal personality" and the "royal progress" to his kingdom. A short discussion of Luke's eschatology and his stress on Jesus' glory is closely tied in with this analysis.

In conclusion it must be said that a satisfactory commentary on Luke in any language is still a sadly unfulfilled wish. Perhaps the promised volume by Jeremias in the new Meyer series will finally fill this most unpleasant gap.

RONALD M. HALS

The Gospel of Mark, Its Making and Meaning. By Curtis Beach. New York: Harpers, 1959. $2.50.

The author of this work states in his Preface, "This is a study of the Gospel of Mark as literature." A number of relevant questions occupy his attention in making the study: (1) the reason and date of the writing, (2) the message of the gospel itself, (3) source materials, (4) the organization of these materials and the originality of Mark, and (5) the artistic workmanship.

In treating these questions Dr. Beach divides his little volume into two parts.

The first half of the book deals with critical problems. Here nothing new is presented which has not already been fully discussed by the Form-critics. Some of their conclusions are simply re-stated in a readable and succinct form. On almost every issue Dr. Beach sides with the more radical critics. A few samplings of his approach to introductory matters will suffice to show this. He agrees, e.g., that Mark (like the other Synoptics) is comprised of the "folklore of the early Christian people," that it contains legends which had "gathered about Jesus, as they gather about any great man," and that the gospel is a collection of stories "used in Christian preaching and the training of converts," the arrangement of which "is purely topical, separate stories being grouped together because of a common theme."

To Dr. Beach the originality of Mark's gospel tradition with its theological point of view lies solely with the early disciples who "soon recovered from their dismay (over Jesus' death) by coming to believe in Jesus' *resurrection*—that is, in his immortality." Thus in his estimation not a drop of Christological theology, such as Mark gives us, is in any sense to be attributed to Jesus himself. On the contrary, it was an aspect of the gospel tradition which was developed *about* Jesus after his death, but certainly not *by* Jesus.

Those scholars and students who have today moved beyond the point of having their views of the gospels dominated solely by the views and findings of the Form-critics will no doubt take exception to many of Dr. Beach's statements. Few, for example, will pass by without question such unqualified and dogmatic assertions (typical of the Form-critics) as these: that the resurrection faith was an achievement (p. 19), that Jesus himself had nothing to do with the merging of messianic ideas which we find in the gospels (p. 27), or that the primitive collections of the sayings, teachings, and deeds of Jesus "became encrusted with later material and imaginative coloration" (p. 32). Such conclusions have not always stood up under the weight of continued scholarly research and judgment.

Perhaps the most valuable—and least controversial—chapter in the first part is that in which Mark's literary structure and plot is carefully, although briefly analyzed. The student of the Synoptics will find it particularly helpful in getting a clear picture of the "earliest gospel."

The second part consists of a commentary which is not of the exegetical variety in the strictest sense. Following the order of Mark's gospel, Dr. Beach treats the text in the various "lumps" into which he divides it for comment. Here and there he draws out a verse or two within a given "lump" for special examination.

Throughout the commentary it is the literary quality of the passages which interest the commentator. Where Mark got his material, how he used it, and how he wove it into his theme occupy the writer's attention. Through such a method of analysis Mark's Jesus is presented to the reader as the Messiah by an endless succession of literary devices which create a gospel which has a "singleness of purpose, theology, and theme." It is in this particular kind of commentary analysis that Dr. Beach presents fruits of study marked by originality and freshness.

The pastor will find little in this volume to prepare him for writing specific sermons on given Marcan texts. But both he and the theological student will find much—particularly in the second part—to enrich his general understanding of the gospel as a whole, the kind of thing necessary to anyone who assumes the task of preaching and teaching in the church.

ROBERT A. BARTELS

The Gospel in Dispute: The Relation of Christian Faith to Other Missionary Religions. By Edmund Perry. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1958. 230 pages. $3.95.

The author, who heads the department of religion at Northwestern University, offers his readers one of the very few serious contributions to the study of missionary theology to come out of America. The major theme of the volume is indicated by the sub-title:

the relation of the Christian faith to other *missionary* religions. The author's purpose is not to provide us with another textbook in the history of religions—of which there are a great many on the market—but to relate Christianity to four other living religions in terms of the *missionary* character of each. The four chosen are Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism; others are omitted because of their non-missionary character. In the course of the discussion, much standard descriptive material found in textbooks on religion is also included, padding the bare bones of the thesis. The book was published as a recent addition to the "Christian Faith Series," under the editorship of Reinhold Niebuhr.

In the introductory chapter Perry catalogues the "present threats to the Christian mission" and seeks to demonstrate the relevance of his inquiry. Citing statistics and documents, he reviews some of the more celebrated charges brought against the Christian mission by protagonists of other religions, and also details some of the recent counter-missionary efforts of Muslims, Hindus, and Buddhists. In the Christian West he finds ignorance, religious relativism, and a lack of authority for carrying out the mission of the church in the lands of other religions. "To be a Christian at all anywhere in the contemporary world is to be a responsive and responsible *missionary* Christian" (p. 23). Prof. Perry's data are calculated to disturb the reader.

In the next section the biblical and theological bases of the Christian mission are systematically examined. A careful expositor of the Scriptures, the author delineates these bases under three intriguing capsule headings: *gospel promise, gospel person* and *gospel people*. This treatment has the merit of deriving the foundations of the Christian mission from the nature of the Gospel and the character of God's redemptive will, and not—as is incorrectly but all too frequently done—from the existence of the church. The reader may wish to disagree with the author's conclusion that the promise of God's blessing to all the nations of the earth is the major *leitmotif* of Old and New Testament literature. But that it is very importantly present no one will wish to dispute. The Scriptures, in particular the Old Testament, have been carefully surveyed with regard to missionary motivation. More attention might well have been given to the controversial missionary *dicta* of Jesus, especially such passages as Matt. 10:5 and 15:24, which are not mentioned but which are effectively dealt with by J. Jeremias in his *Jesus' Promise to the Nations*.

A third section deals with the abovementioned four missionary religions and their relationship to Christianity. Christianity and Judaism are related as "religions of biblical faith," while the two are related to Islam as "religions of the biblical God." Hinduism and Buddhism are "non-biblical missionary religions." The chapter on Judaism consists of historical references and commentary indicating what Christians have thought about Jews and what Jews have said about Jesus and Christianity. The author quotes approvingly such irenic apologetic approaches to Christianity as those taken by Rozenzweig, Buber, and Will Herberg—all of whom find some Jewish meaning in the mission of Jesus and the Christian church. But he decisively negates the conclusion of their thought: that Christianity may be regarded as a Gentile form of Judaism, and that Jesus may have a valid place as Saviour of the Gentiles, while remaining unnecessary for the Jews, who have direct access to the Father. Here Perry reverts to a strictly Christocentric line of thought and insists that for a Jew and Gentile alike, incorporation into the true Israel must go through Christ.

The chapter on Islam, after reviewing the substance of the religion of revelation founded by Muhammad, lists the standard complaints and grievances which Muslims lay at the door of the Christian religion. The author attributes these to a number of sources: misleading references to Jesus in the Qur'an, regrettable historical contacts between Muslims and Christians from the time of the Crusades, and, not least, the ineffective witness of Eastern churches living in the bosom of Islam. Most of this section is based on secondary sources, a notable debt to the Muslim specialist and Arabist Kenneth Cragg being acknowledged. It appears that the writer has had less firsthand contact with Muslims than with prac-

titioners of other religions, e.g., Judaism and Buddhism. The stumbling-block for Muslims of Christ's sonship, cross, and resurrection can be removed only through patient and charitable witness.

The case for Hinduism and Buddhism versus Christianity are handled with such skill and sympathy that one is inclimed to remark, paraphrasing Agrippa's words to Paul, "In a short time you think to make me a Buddhist (or a Hindu)!" Passing over much that is not relevant to the discussion, Mr. Perry pins two telling labels on the Eastern religions in question. Hinduism is labeled a "religion for everyman," a reference to its well-known spiritual tolerance, hospitality to divergent religious views, and syncretistic approach. This is the great democratic religion, in which every man decides for himself what kind of god he wants to worship, if indeed any god at all. Buddhism, for which an even stronger case is made, is the religion of "courage" in which a man can make of himself whatever he will. As a classic form of non-theistic existentialism, "the message of Buddhism to modern man is the possibility of a faith and love based on manly courage rather than on unsubstantiated, hypothetical beliefs in supernatural beings and immortal souls" (p. 207). The Buddhist charge against justification by faith and *sola gratia* is that these Christian doctrines are conducive to moral paralysis and beget irresponsibility. A similar blow to the Christian West is dealt by the charge that the religion of the Prince of Peace, so far as the Buddhist world is concerned, seems to be productive only of global wars and atomic bombs. These charges are not effectively refuted. The author exhibits a marked ability to play the advocate for Buddhism.

The remainder of the book consists of two chapters dealing with "a method of studying religions" and with conclusions of the inquiry. In the opinion of this reviewer, these are the weakest sections of the book. The Gospel and the other missionary religions are fairly and engrossingly expounded in separate treatments, but the hoped-for correlation between the two never materializes. Seemingly, the author never gets beyond the point of stating the case for the one against the other. The reader has the sensation of switching chairs—playing now one, now another religious role, entering into the psychologies of various great religions, observing the gulf between them, but having no clear judgment as to how the Christian world mission can in the end be furthered. The concluding statement entitled "What Must Live and What Must Die" is disappointing in the extreme. "Candidly stated, the Christian mission for the Gospel . . . asks Jews to give up their God-given chosenness; Muslims to give up their doctrine of God; Hindus to give up their spiritual view of life; Buddhists to give up their faith in what man can make of man" (p. 224). The author recognizes that in so doing each of these religions would be giving up its "life center." This strikes the reader as an ultimatum to all other religionists not merely to yield a little ground but to cease being what they are. From the viewpoint of the Christian mission this is certainly a desirable objective but scarcely capable of realization. Sharply paraphrased, the relation between the Gospel and other religions which Mr. Perry describes is that of *annihilation.*

One other theological issue leaves the reader with considerable perplexity. The author promises a Gospel-oriented method for studying other religions. Nothing is said explicitly, but the reader deduces that this method is constructed on the basis of Barthian assumptions and owes much to the principles of Barth's celebrated pupil, Hendrik Kraemer. For Perry, as for these men, "the Gospel of Jesus Christ comes to us with a built-in prejudgment of all other faiths so that *we know in advance of our study what we must ultimately conclude* about them" (p. 83). In Barthian terms, these religions amount to "unbelief." "These faiths not only are unable to bring men to God, they actually lead men away from God and hold them captive from God." And this definitive and blanket judgment, Perry states, must be repeated *ad nauseam.* This is the starting point for the author's method. He believes that it represents the best guarantee of "an impartial scientific investigation of religions." The reason, presumably, is that the Christian, having settled all matters of faith to his own satisfaction, has no ax to grind when it comes to other religions. He

can be dispassionate because he has already placed the question of *truth* out of reach. His own religion represents the *truth,* and these other religions are *unbelief.*

So much for the starting point. But later in the discussion Perry changes his tack. In discussing points of contact for the study of other religions, he writes that Christian students "enter into the whole life of another faith-folk, espouse their ambitions and aspirations, subject ourselves to their needs and anxieties, and allow ourselves to be tempted, *really tempted* (italics mine), by the claims of their faith. The grace and mission given unto us by our incorporation into Christ requires us to weigh the claims of their faith against those of our own faith. . . . This kind of existential temptation in the wilderness of another faith is an indispensable prerequisite for preaching repentance and faith in the Gospel to the adherents of that faith" (p. 105). When we contrast this with Perry's earlier statement regarding "built-in prejudgments" of other religions, we must ask ourselves frankly whether it can co-exist with an "existential temptation in the wilderness of another faith." If one comes to the investigation with a fixed pre-judgment, then one can obviously not be existentially tempted. Conversely, to be seriously tempted, one must come with at least an open mind. The real question raised is whether the investigator who is a Barthian theologically can also be an avowedly scientific student of religions. But does the Gospel of Jesus Christ require us to adopt a Barthian starting point? Are we limited to the view that religion *qua* religion is unbelief? In this reviewer's opinion we are not. Perry's work would have been a good deal more satisfactory if he had managed to resolve this conflict.

JAMES A. SCHERER

Africa Disturbed. By Emory and Myrta Ross. New York: Friendship Press. 185 pages. $3.50.

The authors, associated with Africa all their lives, have revisited the continent, this time in an attempt to feel the pulse of the Africans and let them speak for themselves. Traveling widely through sub-Saharan Africa, their long association with Africa enabled them to make contact with Africans in all walks of life. Their concern, understandably enough, revolves mostly about the two foci of the religious and the political.

That Africa has undergone tremendous changes in the past decade or so, and is still in the midst of ferment and change, is the popular theme of anyone writing about Africa today. And little wonder, for change there most certainly is. The Rosses have chosen to describe this change as disturbance. They may have put more meaning into the word "disturbed" than is commonly done, but it is hardly a liberty to be begrudged them. For it brings home the point. For example: "The church is the most disturbing of all western imports. . . . " They speak of Christianity as having been a stimulus that has given Africans dissatisfaction with what they have and an aspiration for more. The authors emphasize that the one most revolutionary concept of Christianity that has brought more disturbance than any other is the emphasis upon the power and responsibility of the individual. In other words, something of the power of the Gospel to turn the world upside down is to be found in this analysis of what is happening to Africa. And if that's what it means to be disturbed, let's have more of it!

The book is a conscious effort to allow the Africans to speak and express their opinions. The intent is laudable, but the result is a book that lacks form and direction. One gathers that as a result of all the travel and the interviews a good many notes were taken. Then on the homeward journey the notes were sorted into as homogeneous groupings as possible to provide for chapters.

That the authors ended up seeing and hearing pretty much what they expected to see and hear is evident—and expected. What is reported by the authors is important not because it is new or startling, but because it needs saying again and again. Americans are just beginning to awaken to the significance of the revolution sweeping Africa today, and of Africa's importance to the future of our world.

A good deal of what is written in this book is quotable, although it does sound a little too "readers' digesty" at times. Some of it is sharply critical and forthright. There

is no mistaking how Africans feel about discrimination in all its forms. Ten years ago there were only four independent countries in Africa. By 1960 there will be thirteen. The Africans' will to govern themselves is unshakable. Let the colonial powers prepare!

The church does not escape the thoughtful, penetrating criticism of Africans either. Protestantism's divisiveness and sectarianism is decribed as something with which Africans are impatient. The record of Roman Catholicism is not unspotted in Africa, and the Rosses do not hesitate to let that record speak for itself. The situation in the Spanish, and especially the Portuguese, colonies is deplorable, and the Roman Church must take much of the blame. Their failure to educate the masses has resulted in inexcusable backwardness.

There is no doubt that the Rosses have correctly felt the pulse of Africa today. The book is not profound, but it is helpful. For the interested student of Africa, and for those expecting to make presentations on Africa during this Africa study year, the book is well worth having.

OSCAR R. ROLANDER

What Is the Nature of Man? Images of Man in Our American Culture. By Randolph C. Miller and others. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press, 1959. 209 pages. $3.00.

In the concluding chapter of this symposium, Louis J. Twomey (S.J.) observes that people all over the world are asking simply, but with revolutionary results, to be treated like men. He goes on to ask, "But what does it mean to be treated like a man?" This is a crucial question for this volume, and as Twomey rightly observes, the answer will depend on the view of man held by the one who answers.

A variety of answers are suggested in these sixteen essays written by Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. Edmund W. Sinnott, a biologist, finds the definitive element in man's creative imagination. Economist Kenneth Boulding develops briefly his theory of the economic man. Raymond Brittain, historian, sees man realizing the ideal image as the health and energy of body, mind, and spirit are brought to equal, mutually complementing maturity. The image of the free man is determinative for R. Freeman Butts, educator. As these random samples indicate, it is not possible to generalize on what the nature of man is for the writers represented. In the preface, Randolph Crump Miller contends that ". . . only as one knows who God is can he understand what it means to be created in the image of God" (p. 10), but this thesis is not pursued. The pluralistic theme "images of man" is appropriately given in the subtitle as the subject of the book rather than *imago Dei.*

Diversity of viewpoint is to be expected in a collection of essays growing out of a convention (1957) of the Religious Education Association, including as it does representatives of the three groups mentioned and Eastern Orthodoxy. The value of this volume lies in focusing these varied points of view on a common theme.

In addition to exposing the differences in the authors' convictions, the first ten chapters are devoted largely to surveying the various images of man current in the American scene—in the natural sciences, social sciences, literature, and the arts. Of these chapters, the statements by Boulding and Robert E. Fitch concerning the social sciences and arts respectively are noteworthy.

It is inevitable that any given reader will take serious exception to some views expressed in as heterogeneous a collection as is found in this volume. My complaints would include the following. Several writers refer to "theism" as the uncontested framework of all Jewish and Christian thought. A *majority* may very well concur, but responsible writers in this field should at least be aware of the fact that theism has been challenged and outrightly rejected by important theologians. Sinnott, a professor of botany, makes the inexcusable statement, "In the exploration of this realm of man there is one scientist who has had relatively little to say—the biologist" (p. 14). In fact, from Bergson to DuNouy there has been a healthy succession of biologists who have spoken to this subject, including Hans Driesch, Joseph Needham, Lloyd Morgan, James Ward, and the amateur biologist Jan Smuts. Rabbi Lookstein does violence to

Paul, Luther, Kierkegaard, and Barth when he summarily states that their emphasis on faith militated against concern for "deeds" and "action" of a socially constructive nature (p. 182). As though in direct rebuttal, Joseph Sittler writes in the following chapter: "The eschatological dimension of the biblical faith . . . places man before the tasks of earth without leaving man at the mercy of success; it drives man into causes and programs and all efforts to grow in peace, justice and decency, without making an idol of peace, justice and decency" (p. 189). In general the book is weakened by the fact that all of the writers feel obligated to survey the "contemporary scene." Even the varied perspectives do not save these efforts from repetition.

There are points of consensus in the essays, the most important being the seriousness of purpose with which the question "What is man?" is approached. Considerable agreement is expressed on the contention that modern man does not know who he is, that the religious dimension has been lost or blurred, and that traditional values therefore appear groundless and meaningless. This collection of essays illustrates as well as examines the difficulties confronting education that would be religious in a pluralistic society.

CARL FJELLMAN

Essays in Applied Christianity. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Selected, edited, and introduced by D. B. Robertson. New York: Meridian Books, 1959. 348 pages. $1.45.

This new paperback edition of Reinhold Niebuhr's writings ought to be welcomed by all pastors, theological teachers, and laymen. Of Niebuhr's significance for the American scene, nothing needs to be said. In this book D. B. Robertson has brought together a fascinating collection of articles written by Niebuhr for a host of magazines between the years 1928 and 1957. The reader does not face a single sustained argument, but a series of pointed comments on the weakness of common worship in American Protestantism, the question of whether the church can give a "moral lead" to American culture, the deficiencies of Barthianism, the Roman Catholic heresy, and the ecumenical movement. All the familiar Niebuhrian themes are present but are set forth more simply than in his books. The vitality and range of Niebuhr's thought make this book a joy to read. Robertson has given these essays an excellent introduction.

HAROLD H. DITMANSON

Theology in Conflict. By Gustaf Wingren. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. Translated by Eric H. Wahlstrom. $3.25. 168 pages.

Gustaf Wingren is a highly provocative theologian who has fearlessly challenged the thinking of many of his contemporaries. This little volume is precisely such a challenge to three men whose stature is well established in theological circles: Nygren, Barth, and Bultmann. He challenges these three because he believes they are the most significant men on the present horizon of Christian leadership, and because he believes he has found a serious flaw in the theological thought of each one.

Wingren has undertaken this task in the most difficult way possible; that is, he has chosen to criticize the basic presuppositions upon which the theology of his contemporaries is built. This means that this book does not deal with the details of their writings so much as it deals with the total framework in which they phrase their theological questions, and in which they seek to answer them.

1. To expose Nygren's presuppositions, Wingren goes back to his early writings in the field of Philosophy of Religion. What he finds there leads him to the conclusion that Nygren is really asking the wrong question, namely, "What is the Christian faith?" Since this is not the question which the Bible was designed to answer, any answer given to this question, however scriptural it may be, will be a distortion. Wingren holds that the only valid and basic question one can bring to the Bible is this: "How does guilty man find reconciliation with God?"

On the basis of the evidence Wingren has presented, it must be admitted that back in the 1920's Nygren was primarily interested in finding ways to validate the Christian faith. This, we would probably agree, can-

not be done with the aid either of philosophy or of psychology. Christian faith continues to remain an "assurance of things not seen." As one who has been considerably influenced by Nygren's *Agape and Eros* and by his later writings relative to the church, I find it a little bit difficult to accept Wingren's complete dismissal of Nygren's theology.

2. Wingren outlines Barth's theology as being primarily a reaction to the liberalism of the early twentieth century, by which Barth believes that he had been deceived. This is important to Wingren because he finds that in Barth's theology there are precisely the same omissions as characterized liberal theology: there is no objective power of sin, no demonic force working to frustrate and destroy God's creative and redemptive purposes. He thus accuses Barth of staying within the same theological framework as liberalism. The big question is the relationship between God and man. In liberalism the accent had fallen upon man. Barth changes the emphasis by placing the accent unconditionally upon God. The questions, however, remain the same: how can finite man grasp the infinite God? How can temporal man have fellowship with the God who is eternal? How can fallen man have a saving knowledge of a just and holy and saving God? The net result is a theology in which all is of God, and man is jealously kept from any responsible part in his redemption.

Wingren emphatically contrasts Barth's theology with Luther. To Luther the basic question was always a question of righteousness, for Barth it is knowledge. For this reason "revelation" stands in the place where Luther would put "justification" or "forgiveness of sins." According to Wingren, "If 'justification' stands in the center, it is assumed that man already knows something, yes, that God has already 'revealed' himself through the work in creation (Rom. 1:20). . . . He stands there, not without knowledge, but 'withoue excuse,' consequently with guilt, because already as man he has had to deal with God and therefore knows how he ought to live" (p. 29). Such conclusions Barth cannot allow. He brands them as "natural theology" and shouts his loud "Nein!" He must contend that man's primary deficiency is a deficiency in knowledge, and that this deficiency is corrected with Scripture, i.e., with the revelation of God in Christ. Wingren comments, "This is the simplest form in which Barth's theology can be expressed. And about this formula we must say that it is entirely unbiblical. There is no possibility of interpreting the biblical writings correctly from this point of view" (p. 42).

3. The reader quickly senses that, so far as method is concerned, Wingren is much more congenial to Bultmann than he is to Barth. He appreciates Bultmann's concern for what he calls "authentic existence" and agrees that the Gospel has no message unless it speaks to the basic ailment of man. The New Testament text must be understood as an answer to man's "lostness," and so Bultmann has engaged on his program of demythologizing. He is concerned that modern man shall stumble at the cross of Christ and not at other non-central points, such as the resurrection. Here most of us will be very appreciative of Wingren. He exposes the impossibility of separating the biblical concepts of "forgiveness of sins" from the biblical teaching of the "resurrection." Wingren wonders why it is easier to accept forgiveness of sins by a "leap of faith" than it is to accept the resurrection by a similar leap of faith. "We cannot prove the truth of either one" (p. 53).

The reader will detect between the lines that the basic problem in which Wingren is really interested is not these three theologians at all, but rather the relationship of the law to the Christian faith. The treatment of the law is the big loophole that he finds in each theologian he discusses. Already he has published another book dealing with the theme of "law and creation." It is hoped that this will soon be translated as well as a splendid earlier work on "the sermon." It is my conviction that Wingren holds promise of being one of the Scandinavian theologians who will gain notable recognition both in his own country and in America.

If the reader is interested in a good analysis and critical evaluation of these three leading contemporary theologians, this volume will prove very helpful. Wingren's position will certainly be challenged in many circles, but no one will deny that he has

raised significant questions concerning the theologies under discussion. They will have to be answered, whether one agrees with Wingren's answers or not.

The volume here being reviewed was admirably translated by Dr. Eric H. Wahlstrom. Those who have examined the Swedish copy will agree that he has faithfully and lucidly rendered the original.

ARNOLD E. CARLSON

A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation. By Hajo Holborn. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959. xxxiii, 374 pages. $8.75.

The author, a distinguished political refugee from Germany who is now professor of History in Yale University, is in a better position to attempt a reassessment of the course of German history than historians in Germany who have been so preoccupied with specialized research that they have left broad interpretations to non-historians. These have propagated conceptions of German history which "were either plainly amateurish or grossly political, a tendency we have seen at its worst in the falsification of German history by the Nazis." At the same time, the author is in a better position to accomplish his purpose than American historians who look at German history from the outside, with political prejudices of their own, and without such intimate experience and such knowledge of the literature as Professor Holborn commands. It is therefore of more than passing interest to note that this work is being published simultaneously in Germany and America.

Although designed to be used independently, the present volume is to be followed by another which will cover the three centuries from 1648 to 1945. Here and there observations about later developments, and especially later appraisals of the period of the Reformation, are touched upon in the first volume. The author picks his way, with the ease which comes from mastery, through the thickets of complex situations of the past, dismissing extreme interpretations on the left and on the right. Balance and objectivity have been achieved in a large measure. The purpose is to understand, not to attack or defend, and consequently the conclusions reached will sometimes be disturbing to partial protagonists of entrenched notions, be they political or religious.

Here and there the treatment is so compressed as to be disappointing. A case in point is the exposition of alternative religious conceptions of social ethics, where the emphasis is so largely on practical consequences, conditioned by the relativities of the historical situations, that the seminal power in the teachings of Luther or Calvin, of Catholics or Anabaptists, tends to be obscured. It must be remembered, of course, that this is a history of the German people and German culture, not a history of German theology. Accordingly the emphasis is properly on the direction of movements. Besides, criticism of the Reformers which is implied is not without justification.

This first volume of Professor Holborn's history represents an achievement for which we can only be grateful. The style is engaging, the structure of the book with its wide sweep of perspective is helpful, and the interpretation is always thoughtful and suggestive. Some will be pleased and others displeased by the absence of references to sources and literature, but the author's own bibliography on German history will shortly appear in *A Guide to Historical Literature,* to be published under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

THEODORE G. TAPPERT

A Short History of Christianity. By Martin E. Marty. New York: Meridian Books, 1959. 384 pages. Paper, $1.45.

To survey the whole sweep of the history of Christianity in such brief compass requires a device of some kind. The author found one in the words of the Creed, "one, holy, catholic, and apostolic," which he has applied to separate chapters under each of four major parts treating the ancient, medieval, Reformation, and modern church. Use of the device required some manipulation, but the author has managed this with skill. At times, to be sure, the telescoping is so extreme as to suggest to the reader (if the author himself did not nod) that Gregory I and Gregory VII were indistinguishable (p. 165), although they were unlike and lived

almost five centuries apart. As a whole, however, the narrative is balanced. The writing is bright, the story moves at a swift pace, the appraisals are acute, and the ax of judgment falls with frequency and impartiality. The book is especially well adapted as a refresher for men in the ministry.

THEODORE G. TAPPERT

The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Edited and translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. 797 pages. $10.00.

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg's forty-five years in the New World can be traced in considerable detail as one reads the extensive diary kept by the patriarch of American Lutheranism. The collecting, collating, translating, editing, and publishing of Muhlenberg's Journals, begun twenty-three years ago, has now been completed. Volume I, covering the period from 1742 to 1763, appeared in 1942; Volume II, with entries for the years 1764 to 1776, was published in 1945, and now the final volume, treating the years 1777 to 1787. Originally scheduled to appear in the mid 1940's, delay in the publication of Volume III was fortunate since it made possible the inclusion of parts of the Journals known to be in existence at the close of the nineteenth century but not finally recovered until in 1954.

Volume III gives a detailed chronicle of events and activities of the closing decade of the aging patriarch's life. Intending to retire from active service, he and his wife had in July, 1776, moved from Philadelphia back to Providence (Trappe) where they had lived from 1745 to 1761. While in declining health, his pastoral labors continued even though on a more limited and local basis. His extensive travels, so much a part of his earlier years, were over. But he still preached from time to time in Augustus Church, only a half-mile from his new home in Providence, and on occasion served as lector and organist when another preached. He was constantly called upon for the performing of pastoral acts such as baptisms, catechetical instruction, weddings, sick communions, and funerals. While no longer president of the Pennsylvania Synod, in the founding of which he had played the leading role in 1748 and had served as head for many years, congregations in nearby communities still sought his counsel and assistance, especially in times of difficulty. The final entry of his Journals, dated Sept. 29, 1787, reports a baptism performed just nine days before his death. To the very end he was a devoted pastor and churchman with deep love for his Lord and for the people to whom he ministered.

The years 1777 to 1787 were unusually eventful ones in the history of the new nation which had just been born. Muhlenberg followed with deep interest and great concern the political and military developments. In his Journals he discusses the question of loyalty to "the powers which have authority over you and protect you" and reviews arguments proposed by the Halle Fathers regarding neutrality in the midst of revolution. He gives extended accounts of military operations, reporting war casualties, the number of prisoners taken, materials captured and damage inflicted. He takes note of reported war atrocities with an awareness that the horrors of conflict may soon engulf the community where he is living. He describes the activities of the American soldiers as they anticipate an attack by the British—perhaps at the very corner where Muhlenberg's house stood. One can feel the tension of uncertain days ahead and the relief as troops move on to engage the enemy at another place.

Hungry and thirsty soldiers often stopped at the Muhlenberg home for food and drink, and some undisciplined ones caused moments of uneasiness and anxiety. Army horses destroyed the buckwheat crop. Chickens were stolen and other damage done. Army supplies were stored in the basement of their home when the commissary of the American camp heard that "we had, under our house, the largest and best cellar in this neighborhood."

As fighting went on in various communities, Muhlenberg noted what was happening to the churches there. At Germantown the British had placed cannons in the church and fired them from the windows, only to be driven out by the Americans at the first assault, the resulting damage being great.

"One can well imagine what the building looks like." The church in Reading was turned into a hospital and filled with wounded. The one in Lebanon was used as a prison for captured Hessian soldiers. At Providence, itself, Pennsylvania militiamen were quartered in the church.

Even when war rages life has to go on. During the years of fighting and those that followed, the Journals tell of the daily happenings in the Muhlenberg home and family. A careful record is preserved of all financial transactions, of sources of income, items purchased and paid for, wages given, money borrowed and repaid. Inflation resulting from the war is deplored. Health and weather conditions are noted, family visits and activities related, and correspondence with those near and far reproduced.

It is a very human story that one reads: of butter, salt, and vinegar; coffee, cloth, and spinning wheel; straw, lumber, and firewood; saddle horses and wagons; sickness, meat, and medicine; maids, carpenters, and a killing frost in the month of May. But in and above it all there throbs the deep faith and the unflagging zeal of a great man of God.

Not only church but also secular historians will find Muhlenberg's Journals to be a great treasure house of valuable source materials. We are indeed deeply indebted to Dr. Tappert and Dr. Doberstein, both of the Philadelphia Lutheran Seminary, for this monumental work.

DORRIS A. FLESNER

The Assemblies of God. A Popular Survey. By Irwin Winehouse. New York: Vantage Press, 1959. 224 pages. $3.75.

Little information is available on the history of the Assemblies of God, a Pentecostal body which was organized in 1914 and has since grown to a membership of a half-million. For this reason alone, and not on account of any other distinction which may be ascribed to it, the uncritical account of Irwin Winehouse deserves to be noticed.

T. G. TAPPERT

Invitation to Theology: Resources for Christian Nurture and Discipline. By Allen O. Miller. Philadelphia: Christian Education Press, 1958. 275 pages. $4.00.

The book was "designed as a course of theological instruction for all parents, teachers, and pastors who are engaged in the task of Christian education, whether it be in church or home" (p. xxii).

The author has succeeded fairly well at an impossible task. He seeks to set forth the basic theology of the Christian church in Parts One and Two and to outline the significance of this theology for Christian education in Part Three. He has attempted far too much unless he intends the book to be used as a study guide or textbook with extensive supplemental readings and lectures.

This book almost defies fair evaluation. It handles vast subjects briefly; it moves from a topic before it has been fully developed; it leaves the reader frustrated by easy and summary handling of large and important theological questions; it represents a fairly acceptable evangelical position, yet it favorably quotes poetry that is not consistent with the viewpoint being enunciated (pp. 105-106, "The Agony of God," by Georgia Harkness; p. 138, untitled poem by Elizabeth Cheney). Professor Miller talks often and well about the divine initiative, salvation by grace alone, the Word of God which alone effects redemption, and the response of faith, yet he frequently talks about God expecting man to transmit his righteousness and love from generation to generation (pp. xxii f., p. 60, to name only a few).

The author's emphasis on "covenant theology" is good. It makes more sense for Christian education than many people may realize. Yet Miller's exposition of the covenants of the Bible is sadly inadequate. He lumps the Old Covenant and the New Covenant into one covenant (pp. 9-18) and then, by overstressing the obvious continuity between these two covenants, completely ignores the also obvious discontinuity between the same two covenants.

Miller is best in the Third Part on Christian nurture and discipline. Here he seems to be giving Christian education real guidance. Although he calls for renewal of Christian education in the family, he seems to give

the church its rightful and central place. It is refreshing to note the emphasis he places on worship, the sacraments, and the Christian Year.

There are quotable sections and useful references to contemporary literature. For example, Miller uses T. S. Eliot's *The Cocktail Party* as an illustration of the human predicament and religious experience to good advantage (pp. 180-183). On the other hand, one can hope none will quote the author in calling Christ the "toastmaster" at the victory banquet in the kingdom of God.

This book is both satisfactory and unsatisfactory. Yet it is symbolic of present efforts to undergird Christian education with theology. It is worth reading.

L. Dale Lund

Confession. By Max Thurian. London: SCM Press, 1959. Paperback, 152 pages. $1.75.
Marriage and Celibacy. By Max Thurian. SCM Press, 1959. Paperback, 126 pages. $2.25.

"I like the Protestant religion because the priests get married and one does not have to go to confession." Irked by this popular French caricature, the author of these two germinal studies aims to recover the true meaning and practice of both personal confession and voluntary celibacy for evangelical Christians. It is of no little importance that Thurian himself is an ordained brother in the Taizé Community of France, a post-war expression of ecumenical Christianity in which some thirty-five Calvinists and Lutherans are engaged in a corporate life of worship and service in fulfillment of their vows of holding goods in common, of celibacy, and of obedience.

The controversial thesis in both these works is that the Reformers and their followers sometimes rejected totally some of the elements in Roman Catholic teaching and practice which needed only partial reformation. Particularly in the cases of private confession and voluntary celibacy. Thurian believes that Protestants have impoverished themselves unnecessarily by throwing the baby out with the bath water.

In *Confession* he first reviews the different positions which the Reformers took in criticism of the Roman Catholic sacrament of penance. He is in full agreement with their denunciation of the distorted Roman teachings concerning the respective roles of divine grace and human merit in penance. As over against both the mature Luther and Calvin, however, Thurian holds that penance is truly a sacrament. Luther's claim that it does not have an earthly sign and Calvin's charge that it does not have a heavenly promise are considered equally irrelevant. Both were operating with an Augustinian understanding of a sacrament, "which is one definition among many, arbitrary and extra-biblical." Penance, for Thurian, does have all the characteristics of a genuine means of grace: It is a particular action of the church which entails the action of God; it is instituted by God himself in Christ's charge to his church; it is related to the unique sacrifice of Christ on the cross; and it is an efficacious sign of the forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

Thurian then develops some of the ecclesiastical implications of his position. He stresses the need for the church to take more seriously its God-given power to forgive and to condemn in the practice of both absolution and excommunication. In this way members would be helped to view the church more theologically in terms of salvation and damnation. Regarding the hearing of private confession, pastors are urged to learn more of the complementary roles which religion and psychology (particularly psychoanalysis) can play, once the necessary boundary-lines are clearly drawn between them.

In this connection, all "psychologism" should carefully be avoided which results in dogmatic relativism and moral complacency. Nevertheless, within its legitimate area of inquiry, psychology can help the pastor to deal with such distorted expressions of faith as infantilism, father projection, masochism and the castration complex. While fully aware of the (cited) potential dangers of restoring the practice of private confession and absolution in a Protestant setting, the author is convinced of its validity and necessity in our troubled age, and concludes by providing some practical guides for initiating such a program within the local parish.

The work on *Marriage and Celibacy* is equally provocative but far less persuasive. It is no accident that Thurian quotes Luther

more than any other theologian on confession, but never once on celibacy! Is it not strange that the Reformer could have been so right about the Word of God in one doctrine and apparently of such little help in another? The only mention of Luther in the second work concerns the alleged embarrassment which he has caused Protestantism by his broken monastic vows.

The heart of Thurian's position is stated in his conclusion: "The Reformed tradition seems generally inclined to recognize the practical superiority of celibacy for the purpose of the ministry, provided, of course, that it is not compulsory and that it corresponds to a true vocation from God." While, in regard to salvation, marriage and celibacy are considered "two equally valid ways of life," celibacy is also declared to be superior to marriage as a status for the clergy. This for three reasons: (1) practically, celibacy provides the minister with more time and freedom to devote to the work of the kingdom; (2) spiritually, celibacy establishes a more intimate relationship with the imitated Christ in prayer life and contemplation; (3) theologically, celibacy provides the world with an eschatological sign of the new age in whose consummation there will be no more marriage.

The biblical basis for Thurian's work is his extended commentary (largely dependent upon Calvin and Barth) on I Cor. 7 and Eph. 5. Hermeneutical and theological considerations are crucial here, and there is little new that can be said to Thurian which Luther has not already said to Eck and Emser on the same issues. In the first place, Thurian advocates an *imitatio* rather than a *vocatio* ethic, nowhere recognizing that Jesus and the apostles had their own peculiar callings in establishing the kingdom of God which are very different from our gifts, neighbors, and callings.

Secondly, there is no adequate recognition that the Christian lives in both kingdoms of creation and redemption, and that it is therefore neither "naturalistic" nor "a sort of instinctive conviction that the laws of nature cannot really be overthrown in the new order established by Christ" when some evangelical Christians continue to insist upon fulfilling the demands of the ordinances of God in creation, the values of institutional remedies against sin in a fallen world, and the subsequent repudiation of any proposed "permanent and indissoluble vows of celibacy" as the ideal for "all who are able to hear." Here, particularly, Thurian succumbs to Barth's Christo-monism in such a way as to make of Christ a new Moses.

This same lack of discrimination regarding the relation of history and eternity mars the author's biblical exegesis. No distinction is permitted between a permanently valid Christian eschatology and the early church's (mistaken) apocalypticism which anticipated the imminent, catastrophic return of Christ within their lifetime. Responsible exegesis recognizes today that Paul's admonitions to the Corinthians are strongly colored by this apocalyptic spirit and are to be judged accordingly.

Nor does the Pauline analogy in Eph. 5 justify the author's semi-mystical insistence that, for the apostle, "marriage is primarily a symbol of analogy between a man and his mate with Christ and the church." However blessed and necessary are the transformed motives of individual Christians in married life, when Christ was questioned about marriage he pointed back "from the beginning" to God's ordinance in creation (Matt. 19:4 ff.). He did not, as does the author, espouse "the originality of Christian marriage" in terms of the doctrine of the church.

When Thurian maintains that God's command, "Be fruitful and multiply," is peculiar to Old Testament Judaism, he might well be reminded that this word is depicted in Genesis 1:28 as having been given before the fall as part of the universal will of God for his created humanity. Luther never denied the right of voluntary celibacy, but he did maintain that (1) it was exceptional; (2) it should be free, unselfish, and kept only as long as God's "special gifts" were there; (3) and that chastity should be the chief concern of the Christian, whether exercised in marriage or in celibacy.

WILLIAM H. LAZARETH

Think About These Things. By Robert D. Hershey. Philadelphia: The Muhlenberg Press, 1958. 198 pages. $2.50.

This is a collection of twenty-three ser-

mons by the pastor of Manhattan's Holy Trinity Church. "These Things" prove to be big, solid themes (happiness, security, forgiveness, hope, etc.) which are gathered under four sub-heads: The Things We Want, The Things We Need, The Things That Stand in the Way, The Things to be Done. As in most collections of sermons, the thematic arrangement is suggestive rather than providing a framework for tightly knit series.

Each sermon is headed by a text but the treatment is normally topical. At times the topics seem too broad to permit the unity and "bite" an individual sermon ought to have. It is difficult for a preacher to come up with precise, concrete answers in a single sermon for problems as broad as "Justice," "Freedom," or "Peace." On the other hand these sermons have the considerable virtue of tackling fundamentals rather than dabbling in peripheral matters. For this reviewer, the most successful sermons are those where the text dominates the sermon and provides the unifying thrust. The final group of sermons is a good example of what can be done in a series based on a big, provocative text (Luke 4:18-19).

Although Dr. Hershey tackles big theological problems, he does not fall into the trap of using theological jargon. The problems are rooted in actual questions asked by actual people and reflect the author's pastoral experience. The answers, though necessarily broad and general at times, are not superficial. They are rooted in biblical theology.

Occasionally one wishes that the theology exercised more control over the development of the sermon, as, for example, when "sin" is listed as a point in addition to "selfishness" (p. 51) or to "worry" (p. 171); or when it is pointed out that we would "still have this Christ to confront" even if the church and the Bible were destroyed (p. 173). If, in view of the general soundness of these sermons, this criticism seems petty, its only justification is a growing irritation with the use of the word "homiletical" as indicating a loose and careless handling of biblical truth. To be sure, preaching dies of insufferable dullness if it is not saved by imagination and freedom, and Dr. Hershey is blessed with the gift of imagination. But the preacher must also be constantly concerned that his imagination and freedom are exercised within a consistent theological point of view. For the most part these sermons do reflect this concern as well as Dr. Hershey's obvious concern to meet the modern city man where he is in language and imagery that are both meaningful and imaginative.

The flavor of these sermons is that of a literate, dispassionate discussion of vital truths with an intelligent, questioning congregation. They reflect a pastor's concern for his people and for the relevance of the Gospel to their deepest needs. There is not much urgency here, but frequently there is depth of insight. The title is an accurate key to Dr. Hershey's approach.

EDMUND A. STEIMLE

Through Temptation. By James H. Hanson. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959. 79 pages. $1.50.

Seven meditations for Lent are included in this little paperback volume of sermons by one of the younger pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. The first five are based on Gen. 3 and Matt. 4 and draw their major insights, as the author points out in the introduction, from Dietrich Bonhoeffer's *Temptation.* The last two sermons are based on the triumphal entry and the Resurrection story.

The series was preached in an actual parish situation and is interesting chiefly because of its thematic approach to a Lenten series. No doubt the congregation profited from this five-week exploration into the meaning of temptation. The approach is suggestive for similar explorations during Lent into some of the big biblical terms such as salvation, faith, and grace.

The author shows promise of being able to communicate provocative insights such as appear in "The Grace of Abandonment" in a fresh, down-to-earth style. Generally, however, the style does not do justice to the subtleties of Bonhoeffer's thought. A minor but irritating flaw is the constant use of quotation marks to denote words and phrases drawn from popular usage.

EDMUND A. STEIMLE

Response. Journal of the Lutheran Society for Worship, Music, and the Arts. Edited by Walter E. Buszin. St. Paul, Minn. Semi-annual. Vol. I, No. 1, appeared Pentecost, 1959. $1.00.

It is a thrill to turn the pages of a new publication under Lutheran auspices which, judging by the contents of its first issue, has good promise of arousing and expressing a church-wide concern for the relationship between our faith and the whole field of the creative arts.

Many things are impressive about this new venture. First of all, its format and style are extremely attractive. This has too seldom been the case with past ventures of this kind. Then we note with pleasure the wide span of synodical affiliation and specialized interests represented both by the authors of articles and by the editorial staff. Not least impressive is the consistently high quality of the contents. The inclusion of a splendid article by Wilhelm Staehlin, translated from German, seems to indicate that we may at last see in English many of the fine things being written in this field in the German and Scandinavian languages. A section of excellently reproduced illustrations, serving as background for discussion of the significance of current trends in church architecture, is a feature apparently planned for each issue.

Most important of all, we note appreciatively that the creative wells out of which living and relevant art forms can arise—the theological foundations—are boldly dealt with, and in a way to indicate that they will continue to be kept in the foreground. This is particularly true of H. Grady Davis' excellent presentation of the topic, "Theological Foundations of Christian Worship and the Arts." This article is so discriminating and so thoroughly evangelical that, in the judgment of this reviewer, it alone is very nearly worth the price of the first issue.

Can such a journal effectively cover such an extremely wide range of interests? This same question can, of course, be asked of its sponsoring group. But it is undeniable that one feels a certain disparity between the consideration of those arts whose basic application is in worship and the effort at the same time to include treatment of "the arts" in the wider sense, including literature and presumably all the "minor arts." One wonders whether the main intention—to foster the understanding and use of real art in the worship life of the church—may not be endangered. Yet this may be just the breadth needed to keep such a journal from falling into the trap of becoming simply another "practical" magazine advertising the latest fads in so-called "church art" and forgetting to challenge its readers and the Lutheran Church as a whole to a re-thinking of the creative relationship between a vital faith and its genuine artistic expression.

Again, we wonder how successfully such a magazine can maintain the straightforward, yet provocative, style of writing so notable in this first issue. Already in the editorial remarks on church architecture (signed cryptically "M.M.," no doubt indicating the hand of Martin E. Marty) there is a hint of the possibility that such a magazine may unnecessarily narrow its influence and its circle of readers by employing too much of the special esoteric language which is the bane of both the theologian and the artist. (I enjoyed "M.M.'s" remarks—only I cannot be sure I understood him!)

Finally, though there is nothing at all to indicate it in this issue, one does sense that the magazine needs to guard against the danger of not being fully open to all schools of thought and to Lutherans of all synodical and national backgrounds. If one reads it, will it automatically label one as a "high church man"? In the present situation in Lutheranism in Amercia, such an eventuality would be fatal to the magazine's usefulness. But to prevent this fate will be fully as much the responsibility of those who ought to subscribe and contribute to it as of the editors and sponsoring group.

JOEL W. LUNDEEN

What Present-Day Theologians are Thinking. By Daniel Day Williams. New York: Harpers, 1959. 190 pages. $3.00.

This volume is a revised and enlarged edition of a similar publication from the pen of Dr. Williams in 1952. It is no *mere* revision, however, inasmuch as the substance of each chapter is so thoroughly reworked that one might have thought this to be an entirely

original work. The new insights and developments in theology since 1952 are incorporated into the outline and the copy with consummate skill and clarity.

Those who have studied under Dr. Williams will remember his self-characterization as a "theologian of reconstruction." He believes that the task of the present-day theologian is carefully to reassess the critical insights gained in the controversies of the recent decades. Having done so, the theologian must then attempt to make a positive contribution to current theology. This sense of mission so characteristic of Dr. Williams is apparent throughout this little volume. His book is also autobiographical in that it reveals the manner in which the author has succeeded in keeping himself open to the varied streams of thought in contemporary theology.

Williams cites the promulgation on Nov. 1, 1953, of the dogma of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the two major theological events since 1952. The dogma of the Assumption is so important because it raised inescapable issues "concerning scriptural authority, ecclesiastical authority, tradition, and the relation of liturgy and devotion to theology" (p. 9). The Scrolls are of incalculable importance because they focus so sharply the relationship between the Christian faith and history.

On the basis of his analysis of the current theological climate, Williams focuses attention on four major issues: "first, authority and the Bible; second, the basis of Christian ethics; third, the meaning of Jesus Christ; and fourth, the form and nature of the church" (p. 17). These represent the major divisions of the volume. In each of these areas Williams has the happy faculty of listening both to the "fathers of the faith" and to the contemporary voices outside the church. He is particularly appreciative of the renewal of vitality in the several Christian traditions which holds high promise for both greater clarity of their witness and greater relevance for this generation.

As a characteristic of his mission of "reconstruction" Williams expresses his indebtedness both to the earlier liberal theology and to the more recent neo-orthodox emphasis. The reader will sense that the influence of Whitehead, Wieman, and Hartshorne are still very prominent in his thinking. He attempts, quite successfully, to see the "philosophy of process," as interpreted by the above exponents and their followers, as an attempt to show how "the biblical message comes into a positive relationship to our contemporary understanding of the world when we see the Bible's faith in the God who works here and now in our history." In this respect he may help us to preserve a healthy baby otherwise in danger of being thrown out with the traditional bath water.

What Williams has admirably and briefly presented is a well balanced, competent, and helpful analysis of theological insights, particularly as expressed since 1952. He freely acknowledges his indebtedness to many and varied influences. His evaluations are almost entirely positive, and whatever weaknesses there may be in this volume arise out of the author's constraint to "put the most charitable construction on all that has been written." In the last analysis that certainly is a fault which one could only wish might afflict more interpreters.

ARNOLD E. CARLSON

Unity Begins with You. A Personalized Prevue of The American Lutheran Church. By Robert C. Gremmels. Columbus: Wartburg Press, 1958. 64 pages. Paper.

In order to prepare members of the American Lutheran Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church, and United Evangelical Lutheran Church for the merger of these bodies into The American Lutheran Church in 1961, this booklet is intended to picture what the new church body will be like, how it will operate organizationally, what its educational resources are, how it will serve at home through institutions of mercy and abroad through missionary activities. The booklet will be of interest to Lutherans outside the merger for the initial light it sheds on the new body's strength and activities.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY

Published quarterly by the Editorial Council of Lutheran Theological Seminaries and continuing *The Lutheran Quarterly,* founded in Gettysburg as *The Evangelical Review* in 1849, *The Lutheran Church Review,* founded in Philadelphia in 1882, *The Lutheran Church Quarterly,* Philadelphia and Gettysburg since 1928, and *The Augustana Quarterly,* Rock Island, Illinois, since 1922.

Editor

THEODORE G. TAPPERT
7333 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania

Managing Editor

A. J. ENGELBRECHT
1250 Nowata St., Dubuque, Iowa

Book Editor

ARNOLD E. CARLSON
Augustana Theological Seminary, Rock Island, Illinois

Circulation Manager

LOWELL J. SATRE
Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul 8, Minnesota

EDITORIAL COUNCIL

Representatives of

Lutheran Theological Seminary
Gettysburg, Pa.

Lutheran Theological Seminary
Philadelphia, Pa.

Augustana Theological Seminary
Rock Island, Ill.

Capital University Theological Seminary
Columbus, Ohio

Wartburg Theological Seminary
Dubuque, Iowa

Luther Theological Seminary
St. Paul, Minn.

Augsburg Seminary
Minneapolis, Minn.

Central Seminary
Fremont, Neb.

Chicago Lutheran Seminary
Maywood, Ill.

Evangelical Lutheran Seminary of Canada
Waterloo, Ont.

Grandview Seminary
Des Moines, Iowa

Hamma Divinity School
Springfield, Ohio

Lutheran Seminary
Saskatoon, Sask.

Northwest Lutheran Seminary
Minneapolis, Minn.

Southern Lutheran Seminary
Columbia, S. C.

Suomi Seminary
Hancock, Mich.

Trinity Seminary
Dubuque, Iowa

Pacific Lutheran Seminary
Berkeley, Calif.

VOLUME XI

1959

Times and News Publishing Co.

Index to Volume XI

I. AUTHORS AND SUBJECTS

AHLSTROM, SIDNEY E.
Lutherans in American History ... 170
ALLBECK, WILLARD D.
Lutheran Separation—The Ohio Story ... 28
ANDERSON, C. A.
Review of: Jacob, *The Theology of the Old Testament* ... 68
ARNOLD, ARTHUR O.
Reviews of: Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church* ... 269
Lindemann, *The Sermon and the Propers, I & II* ... 270
AUS, GEORGE
Review of: Ferré, *Christ and the Christian* ... 256
BAGGER, HENRY H.
Review of: Ward, *Creative Giving* ... 86
BARTELS, ROBERT A.
Reviews of: Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles* ... 70
Beach, *The Gospel of Mark* ... 337
BEDENBAUGH, J. BENJAMIN
The Doctrine of God in Deutero-Isaiah ... 154
BELGUM, DAVID
The Theology of Pastoral Care ... 207
Reviews of: Webb, *Discovering Love* ... 272
Narramore, *How to Tell Your Children about Sex* ... 272
BENDTZ, N. ARNE
Review of: Cristiani & Rilliet, *Catholiques, Protestants* ... 263
BORNEMANN, ROBERT E.
Worship, Liturgy, and Music ... 275
BOYD, ROBERT H.
Review of: Blank, *Prophetic Faith in Isaiah* ... 173
CARLSON, ARNOLD E.
Luther and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit ... 135
Reviews of: Wingren, *Theology in Conflict* ... 343
Williams, *What Present-Day Theologians are Thinking* ... 351
CARLSON, EDGAR M.
Review of: Bring, *Galaterbrevet* ... 70
CARTFORD, GERHARD M.
Reviews of: Shepherd, *The Liturgy and the Christian Faith* ... 87
Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves* ... 87
Davies, *Christian Worship, its History and Meaning* ... 88
COOPER, JOHN C.
The Lutheran Church and the Unchurched Negro ... 247
DEITZ, REGINALD W.
Power in the Church ... 222
DITMANSON, HAROLD H.
Reviews of: Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion* ... 80
Maurice, *Theological Essays* ... 261
Niebuhr, *Essays in Applied Christianity* ... 343
DOBERSTEIN, JOHN W.
Translation of M. Metzger, Preaching and the Sacrament ... 298
Doctrine: Sin, 42; Law and Gospel, 124; Holy Spirit, 135
ENGELBRECHT, AUGUST J.
Review of: Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* ... 73
Ethics: Love and Truth, 192; Dancing and the Church, 147
EVENSON, GEORGE O.
The Force of *Apo* in I Corinthians 11:23 ... 244
FJELLMAN, CARL
Review of: Miller et al., *What Is the Nature of Man?* ... 342
FLESNER, DORRIS A.

Reviews of: Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* ... 266
Tappert & Doberstein, *Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg*, III ... 346
GOLD, VICTOR R.
Reviews of: H. H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* ... 159
Marks & Rogers, *Beginner's Handbook to Biblical Hebrew* ... 74
HALS, RONALD M.
Review of: Leaney, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* ... 337
HARTMAN, KURT CARL
Did Paul Turn His Back on the Jews Forever? ... 57
HEICK, OTTO W.
Review of: Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrine* ... 264
HEINECKEN, MARTIN J.
The Tension between Love and Truth ... 192
Review of: Bultmann, *The Presence of Eternity* ... 75
HOLMER, PAUL L.
Some Reflections about Law and Gospel ... 124
Reviews of: Lindström, *Efterföljelsens teologi hos S. Kierkegaard* ... 81
Peguy, *Temporal and Eternal* ... 260
HOOK, WADE F.
The Lutheran Church in the Carolinas Sociologically Interpreted ... 60
HULME, WILLIAM E.
Review of: Runestam, *Psychoanalysis and Christianity* ... 174
Intercommunion: 91
JENSEN, THEODORE I.
Review of: Outler, *The Christian Tradition and the Unity We Seek* ... 176
KUKKONEN, WALTER J.
Review of: Bevan, ed., *Steps to Christian Understanding* ... 263
LARSEN, ROBERT W.
Review of: Marsh, *A Year with the Bible* ... 83
LAZARETH, WILLIAM H.
Reviews of: Gilkey, *Maker of Heaven and Earth* ... 259
Thurian, *Confession* ... 348
———, *Marriage and Celibacy* ... 348
LEUPOLD, U. S.
Reviews of: Coates & Kingdom, *Key Words from Kittel, II* ... 173
Smith, *The Twelve Christ Chose* ... 255
Bonnell, *I Believe in Immortality* ... 271
Yarnold, *Risen Indeed* ... 271
LILJE, HANNS
Grace and Life without Grace in Ernest Hemingway ... 14
LINDBERG, PAUL M.
Review of: Bovet, *Love, Skill, and Mystery* ... 85
LINES, WILHELM C.
Prediction and Fulfillment ... 237
LUND, GENE
Review of: Inge, *The Things that Remain* ... 261
LUND, L. DALE
Review of: Miller, *Invitation to Theology: Resources for Nurture* ... 347
LUNDEEN, JOEL W.
Review of: Buszin, ed., *Response* ... 351
Luther, Martin: and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, 135
Lutheran Church: in the Carolinas, 60; in Germany, 91; in Ohio, 28; in North America, 112, 170; and Confessions, 179; and Negroes, 247; and Polity, 112, 222
MACKENSEN, HEINZ
The Debate between Eck and Melanchthon on Original Sin at Worms ... 28
MATTSON, A. D.
Reviews of: Cullberg, *Möten med den uppstandne* ... 255
Gärtner, *Sjukdom och lidande i Nya Testamentet* ... 255
Ramsey, ed., *Faith and Ethics* ... 262
Melanchthon, Philip: 42
MENDENHALL, GEORGE E.
Review of: Gordon, *The World of the Old Testament* ... 69
METZGER, MANFRED
Preaching and the Sacrament ... 298
MILTON, JOHN P.
Review of: Maier, *The Book of Nahum* ... 254

Missions: in Persian Kurdistan, 307
MUNN, HARRY J.
Reviews of: Elliot-Binns, *Galilean Christianity* ... 71
Barclay, *More New Testament Words* ... 254
Laymon, *Christ in the New Testament* ... 336
MYERS, J. M.
Review of: Strong, *Old Testament Portraits* ... 84
NARUM, WILLIAM H. K
Review of: Spinoza, *The Book of God* ... 174
NELSON, E. CLIFFORD
Reviews of: Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought* ... 78
Hyma, *New Light on Martin Luther* ... 79
Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Vol. I ... 264
Pastoral Care: 207
PAULY, HERTA
Dancing and the Church ... 147
Preaching: 135, 298
REUMANN, JOHN
Review of: Corell, *Consummatum est:* Eschatology and Church ... 252
ROGNESS, ALVIN N.
Reviews of: Kretzmann, *The Sign of the Cross* ... 270
Goff, *Invitation to Commune* ... 270
Siegel, *Men Who Faced God* ... 271
ROLANDER, OSCAR R.
Review of: Ross, *Africa Disturbed* ... 341
SCHARLEMANN, MARTIN E.
God Is One ... 230
SCHERER, JAMES A.
Review of: Perry, *The Gospel in Dispute* ... 338
SCHNEIDER, STANLEY D.
Reviews of: Tizard, *Preaching, the Art of Communication* ... 269
Dean, *Ecclesiastical Embroidery* ... 271
SKIBBE, EUGENE M.
Discussion of Intercommunion in German Protestantism ... 91
STEIMLE, EDMUND A.
Reviews of: Hershey, *Think about These Things* ... 349
Hanson, *Through Temptation* ... 350
TANNER, A. S.
Review of: Templeton, *Evangelism for Tomorrow* ... 86
TAPPERT, THEODORE G.
History and the Frequency of Communion ... 286
Reviews of: Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe aus Indien* ... 82
Vajta, ed., *Lutherforschung heute* ... 265
Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church* ... 267
Plith, *Kyrkoliv och väckelse* ... 268
Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* ... 345
Marty, *A Short History of Christianity* ... 345
Winehouse, *The Assemblies of God* ... 347
TRAVER, AMOS J.
Review of: Schlink, *The Victor Speaks* ... 268
VOIGT, GILBERT P.
The Protestant Minister in American Fiction ... 1
WAHLSTROM, ERIC H.
Review of: Hershberger, *The Way of the Cross in Human Relations* ... 84
WENTZ, FREDERICK K.
Review of: Petry, ed., *Late Medieval Mysticism* ... 79
WERNER, ERNEST
The Confessional Problem ... 179
WIENCKE, MATTHEW I.
Travels in Persian Kurdistan ... 307
WOLF, RICHARD C.
Lutheran Unity and Union in Historical Perspective ... 112
WONDERLEY, WAYNE
Review of: Niemöller, ed., *Texte zur Geschichte des Pfarrernotbundes* ... 83
Worship: 91, 275, 286, 298

II. BOOKS REVIEWED

Barclay, *More New Testament Words* 254
Beach, *The Gospel of Mark, its Making and Meaning* 337
Bevan, ed., *Steps to Christian Understanding* 263
Blank, *Prophetic Faith in Isaiah* 173
Bonnell, *I Believe in Immortality* 271
Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought* 78
Bovet, *Love, Skill, and Mystery* 85
Bring, *Galaterbrevet* 70
Bultmann, *The Presence of Eternity* 75
Buszin, ed., *Response* 351
Caemmerer, *Preaching for the Church* 269
Coates & Kingdom, *Key Words from Kittel,* II 173
Corell, *Consummatum est: Eschatology and Church* 252
Cristiani & Rilliet, *Catholiques, Protestants* 263
Cullberg, *Möten med den uppstandne* 255
Davies, *Christian Worship, its History and Meaning* 88
Dean, *Ecclesiastical Embroidery* 271
Elliot-Binns, *Galilean Christianity* 71
Ferré, *Christ and the Christian* 256
Gärtner, *Sjukdom och lidande i Nya Testamentet* 255
Gilkey, *Maker of Heaven and Earth* 259
Goff, *Invitation to Commune* 270
Gordon, *The World of the Old Testament* 69
Gremmels, *Unity Begins with You. Prevue of TALC* 352
Hanson, *Through Temptation* 350
Hershberger, *The Way of the Cross in Human Rights* 84
Hershey, *Think about These Things* 349
Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany: The Reformation* 345
Hyma, *New Light on Martin Luther* 79
Inge, *The Things that Remain* 261
Jacob, *The Theology of the Old Testament* 68
Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrine* 264
Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts* 73
Kretzmann, *The Sign of the Cross* 270
Ladd, *Prayer Book Interleaves* 87
Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age,* Vol. I 264
Laymon, *Christ in the New Testament* 336
Leaney, *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Luke* 337
Lehmann, ed., *Alle Briefe aus Indien* 82
Lindemann, *The Sermon and the Propers,* I & II 270
Lindström, *Efferföljensens teologi hos S. Kierkegaard* 81
Maier, *The Book of Nahum* 254
Marks & Rogers, *Beginner's Handbook to Biblical Hebrew* 74
Marsh, *A Year with the Bible* 83
Marty, *A Short History of Christianity* 345
Maurice, *Theological Essays* 261
Meuser, *The Formation of the American Lutheran Church* 267
Miller, *Invitation to Theology* 347
Miller et al., *What Is the Nature of Man?* 342
Narramore, *How to Tell Your Children about Sex* 272
Niebuhr, *Essays in Applied Christianity* 343
Niemöller, ed., *Texte zur Geschichte des Pfarrernotbundes* 83
Odeberg, *Bibelns eget budskap* 255
Outler, *The Christian Tradition and the Unity We Seek* 176
Peguy, *Temporal and Eternal* 260
Perry, *The Gospel in Dispute* 338
Petry, ed., *Late Medieval Mysticism* 79
Plith, *Kyrkoliv och väckelse* 268
Porter, *Reformation and Reaction in Tudor Cambridge* 266
Ramsey, ed., *Faith and Ethics* 262
Ross, *Africa Disturbed* 341
Rowley, ed., *Eleven Years of Bible Bibliography* 75
Runestam, *Psychoanalysis and Christianity* 174
Rupp, *Six Makers of English Religion* 80

Schlink, *The Victor Speaks* 268
Shepherd, *The Liturgy and the Christian Faith* 87
Siegel, *Men Who Faced God* 271
Smith, *The Twelve Christ Chose* 255
Spinoza, *The Book of God* 174
Strong, *Old Testament Portraits* 84
Tappert & Doberstein, *Journals of H. M. Muhlenberg,* III 346
Templeton, *Evangelism for Today* 86
Thurian, *Confession* 348
———, *Marriage and Celibacy* 348
Tillich, *Systematic Theology,* II 76
Tizard, *Preaching, the Art of Communication* 269
Vajta, ed., *Lutherforschung heute* 265
Ward, *Creative Giving* 86
Webb, *Discovering Love* 272
Williams, *The Acts of the Apostles* 70
———, *What Present-Day Theologians are Thinking* 351
Winehouse, *The Assemblies of God* 347
Wingren, *Theology in Conflict* 343
Yarnold, *Risen Indeed* 271